Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-200
Monday
17 October 1988

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Kulikov Arrives in Prague for Pact Meeting

LD1610172788 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces, arrived in Prague today to attend a regular session of the Warsaw Pace Defense Ministers' Committee.

He was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport with military honors by Army General Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defense; and by other senior representatives of the Czechoslovak People's Army. Also present at the welcoming ceremony was Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces, who also arrived in Prague today.

Bloc Military Exercises Take Place

USSR-GDR Training

LD1010132888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1231 GMT 10 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin, 10 Oct (ADN)—A joint troop exercise by the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG] and the GDR's National People's Army will take place as planned from 17 to 23 October in the Wittstock, Gardelegan, Magdeburg, Zehdenick, and Feldberg areas. A total of up to 17,700 members from the two fraternal armies will take part in it. It will be led by a commander from an army of the GSFG.

The aim of the exercise is to perfect training in carrying out defensive actions as well as practice cooperation between the troops.

In accordance with the annual report on military activities for 1988, it has been announced to all signatory states of the Stockholm Document on confidence and security building measures and disarmament in Europe.

Observers from these countries have been invited by the GDR Government.

USSR-Hungarian Exercise

LD1510123288 Budapest Domestic Service In Hungarian 1100 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] A Hungarian-Soviet joint military exercise is under way north of Balaton. The exercise is led by Lieutenant-General Yuriy Vodolazov, first deputy commander of the Soviet Southern Army Group temporarily stationed in our country.

Alia Praises Hoxha at Rally on Anniversary

Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
0906 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Speech by Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, at a rally held in Skanderbeg Square in Tirana at 0900 GMT on 16 October to celebrate the 80th anniversary of the birth of Enver Hoxha and to unveil his monument—live recording]

[Text] Dear comrades, brothers and sisters, citizens of Tirana and of all Albania, we are gathered at this great popular rally to celebrate and commemorate a historic day: the 80th anniversary of the birth of the legendary leader of the people and the party, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

It was the ardent wish of all the Albanian people that we should inaugurate this monument to Enver on the 80th anniversary of his birth. The party worked persistently, and our artists worked tirelessly, to fulfill this noble wish. At this solemn moment, we can say: There he is, Enver Hoxha, in the center of our capital. [Applause, shouts of "Party, Enver, we are always ready"]

We remember that he led the people in one of the first phases of the struggle for the country's liberation in this historic square, where our people saw and heard him speaking countless times about socialism and Albania. The magnificent monument that the party and the people have erected to Enver Hoxha is a reflection of our gratitude, affection, and esteem for all that he has done for the country and socialism. With this monument, the party and the people wish to perpetuate his struggle and his work, his name and his contribution, the socialist road along which he led them, and the communist ideal to which he devoted himself.

On this memorable day when we show our respect for Enver Hoxha, allow me, dear comrades, to convey to you the most ardent greetings of the AWP Central Committee. [applause]

Our people have always known how to esteem and raise onto a pedestal those who have fought and toiled for the fundamental interests of the country. In honoring them, our people honor their own national history, the victories that have been attained, and the ideals that lead them into the future. Our respect for Enver Hoxha is therefore respect for socialism, for our free and independent Albania, and for the radical transformations that have taken place during the years of its new life. It is a respect that will grow increasingly with future victories. Enver Hoxha's name and work have been identified with the most brilliant pages of the history of modern Albania. They are merged in the epic of the national liberation struggle and in the struggle to construct a new society. His name and work are linked with the greatest historical force of the Albanian people, the national renaissance which followed the savage fascist occupation, and with the greatest social transformation that has occurred in our country: the triumph of socialism.

Enver Hoxha is the founder of the new Albania. With Enver Hoxha in the lead, we confronted the great storms that unleashed themselves against us both during the liberation struggle and after it, when we began the construction of our new life. With him leading us, we shattered all the blockades and interventions of the imperialists and revisionists, all their pressures and conspiracies. He himself personified everything that is noble and valued by the Albanian people: their freedom-loving traditions and revolutionary thinking, their virtues, and their most recent moral values that have been molded in the course of the socialist construction. Enver struggled and worked with the thoughts of the people, raising them to the level of the noble ideal for which he fought.

Our party and people honor and respect Enver Hoxha not only for what he did for Albania, which is magnificent, indelible, and immortal. We also honor him for his multifaceted political, ideological, and cultural legacy, for the solid prospects that he opened up, that will always inspire us in finding the most correct ways and most suitable solutions for promoting socialism in our country. Comrade Enver was creative and innovative in his entire being. Every stereotype melted away and came to naught when confronted by his powerful mind. His work reflects the development of life in all its complexity. It is the work of a thinker equipped with fresh logic and an optimistic spirit. His work is characterized throughout by a creative method of analysis, by dialectical power in drawing conclusions, and by courage in discarding what is old and replacing it by what is new.

Creatively applying Marxist-Leninist doctrine in Albania, Enver Hoxha showed the might of socialism. He showed that socialism is the only social system with a future, the only alternative capable of eradicating the oppression and exploitation of man by man. Enver Hoxha comprehensively argued that socialism is a social system capable of providing answers to every question of progress and of meeting all challenges. Naturally, the construction of socialism, a new experience in the history of mankind, encounters great difficulties that are related to a country's degree of economic and cultural development, to the intensity of the class struggle, and other circumstances. But it is also conditioned by the denigration of socialism by its external enemies, and the ruthless struggle they wage against it. The question is how to cope with these difficulties and how to overcome them successfully. Enver Hoxha has taught us that it is possible to meet and overcome all these difficulties by having faith in socialism, and by working and fighting to raise it to new and greater heights.

Enver Hoxha taught us that the proletariat, as the social class capable of overthrowing the old society, is also capable, together with the peasantry and the intelligentsia, of building a new society. Socialism, as Enver

Hoxha conceived it and as it is being constructed in our country by the party and the people, represents not only a social theory and practice, but also an ideal, a goal, an motive power driving mankind, and a force leading it in the direction of progress.

Under the present situation, we are confronted with a great task of national and international importance. This has to do with the consolidation and progress of socialism in Albania. This is not only our ideal, but also our historic obligation. Our experience, our practice, and the heroic struggle of our party and of our people to continually add to our victories, also constitute an internationalist contribution on our part to the defense and progress of socialism throughout the world, the defense and progress of the revolution, and the defense and progress of Marxism-Leninism. We are waging this struggle and setting this example by proving, here in Albania, the vitality of socialism and of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism by preserving our independence, the authority of the people, our social justice, and our socialist culture, and by elevating our new and creative man to newer heights.

Our working people, who have traversed an entire era in less half a century and are witnesses of that heroic and persistent struggle that led Albania from darkness to light, have a right to view the future with optimism. This belief is continually nourished by the party's ideology and by the creative force of our people and of our social system. Socialist Albania will remain a great example, marching on its triumphant road, attaining new successes in political, economic, social, educational, and other fields. It is with this spirit, confidence, and determination that we have come to the festivities of the 80th anniversary of the birth of our mentor. [Applause, shouts of "Party, Enver, we are always ready"]

What we are able to say today and will say forever is that the Albanian people and their AWP will march unswervingly on Enver Hoxha's road. [applause, shouts of "Party of Labor"] We are working and will continue to work and fight to raise Albania to ever newer heights, as was his wish, always guarding the red fortress of socialism, the country of a free and independent people, the country that is always open to its friends and always closed and invincible to its enemies. [acclamation]

Enver Hoxha's personality and thinking shine even more brilliantly in the present turbulent international situation, when international capitalism and revisionist betrayal have launched an attack on socialism and the forces of revolution, at a time when, in order to justify the forces of counterrevolution forces and to deny socialism as a theory and as a practice, they produce all kinds of arguments, revise and distort the entire history of the international communist and revolutionary movement, and vilify all those who fought, sacrificed themselves, and died for communism.

Enver Hoxha has been and remains today the only name, among all the communist leaders of the past four or five decades, who defended the principles of Marxism-Leninism against the onslaught of the revisionists. [applause] He was the first to observe and diagnose the opportunist disease that had begun to gnaw at the internationalist communist and workers movement, to fight with such great passion against modern revisionism, and to defend socialism and its triumphant practice. Enver Hoxha's battle against the broad front of modern revisionism was not a theoretical battle fought by a philosopher in his study. It was a war fought by a revolutionary leader who sought to prove in practice the correctness of his thoughts and principles. He did not defend a dogma. He defended the revolutionary spirit of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. He defended the dialectical method of analysis. He defended a truth tested in practice, and the daily enrichment of this truth in politics and ideology.

In the present situation, when capitalism and revisionism have joined forces on a single front to disparage Marxism-Leninism and to destroy socialism, Enver Hoxha's thinking and his life and work provide strength, confidence, and courage to fight and to win. [applause] The capitalists and the revisionists say that the future of mankind lies in a liberalized economy, in private initiative, and capitalist production relations. To accept this means to accept that the exploitation of man by man is inevitable and eternal. But how can the working people accept that there is no other road except capitalism? How can they accept that justice and social equality cannot be established and that capitalist exploitation cannot be eradicated? Can the working people accept that national oppression is inevitable, that colonialism cannot be overthrown, and that racism cannot be defeated? Enver Hoxha proved that it is both possible and vital to fight against all this. He did this because history itself has proved that the struggle for freedom, independence, and social justice can never be suppressed. [applause]

The capitalists and revisionists can put the clock back in one or more socialist countries. They can debilitate one or more communist parties. They can prevent the advent of the revolution for a certain time. But they cannot eradicate socialism, because they cannot extinguish lofty human aspirations. They cannot change the nature of working men and their determination to struggle for their progress and social emancipation. [applause]

Dear comrades, in order to defend the victories attained, adorn Albania, and turn the noble ideals of the party and the people into reality, let us work with intelligence, culture, and a creative and innovative spirit. Socialism needs everyone's toil and everyone's mind. Therefore, as was stressed by the Sixth AWP Central Committee Plenum, our people must be characterized, throughout their social activity, by that revolutionary passion and determination that spring from the same ideal, the same goal, and the same objective: the progress and prosperity

of our socialist country. Life has taught us that there can be no development and prosperity without production and culture. Our people are conscious of this; therefore, the workers class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia are swept by a great revolutionary impetus. They have mobilized themselves to boost production, raise cultural standards, and increase the country's defense capacity. This is the road that Enver Hoxha taught us to follow, the road of the country's unswerving progress, the only road for the construction of socialism. This is also the road that we must follow to overcome the difficulties and shortcomings that arise for various objective and subjective reasons, be they domestic or external, and which may brake the process of our development.

Our country possesses great material and human resources to enable it to meet the demands of the times and to constantly raise the living standards of the working masses. The correct line of our Marxist-Leninist party, and our socialist system itself, which creates the preconditions for the efficient utilization of the country's numerous assets and the people's inexhaustible energies, are a sure guarantee for the attainment of this goal. A guarantee for this lies in our people themselves, who are characterized by their lofty patriotic spirit and their determination to build and defend socialism, and to march forward and only forward.

At the present stage of socialist construction, we are confronted with the task of continually raising labor productivity in all fields of our social activity. With firm confidence in the vitality of our social system and of Marxist-Leninist ideology, let us ensure that our entire political, ideological, economic, cultural, and scientific activity is as efficient as possible. Let new horizons be opened to the people and socialism. Let the people's abilities be expressed to the full. Let their muscular and mental energies be utilized to the fullest possible extent. Let the great example and the creative and revolutionary thinking of our immortal Enver inspire us in all our activity, stimulating us and leading us toward greater victories. [acclamation]

Dear comrades, Enver Hoxha fought throughout his life to create and strengthen the unity of the people around the party. His name and his work call on us to strengthen and forge this unity, which represents one of the greatest values created by our revolution and the construction of socialism, one of the most brilliant characteristics of our society. The might of the Albanian people has always been and remains in their unity around the ideals of freedom, independence, and social and cultural progress. Only tightly united around the party will we be able to confront the test of time, and achieve the goals that we aspire to and for which we are fighting.

Comrade Enver continually called on all communists, patriots, and all progressive people of the nation to devote themselves to great ideals, raising themselves above petit bourgeois considerations. He called on them to continually look far ahead and to be inspired by the lofty interests of the country. We must remember this every day. We must be inspired by this in our fight against bureaucracy, liberalism, vestiges of the past, and alien influences; we must be inspired by this in our fight to expand our socialist democracy and for order, discipline, and the law. Our unity is based on stable moral norms. Therefore, in order to strengthen this unity at all times, let us continually preserve our good traditions and those values that have shaped the character, mentality, and psychology of the Albanians throughout the centuries, in the same way as we must continually preserve and develop the new norms of our socialist life, which provide us with the might to defend the victories attained and to fight persistently to further raise the glory of our beloved country. [applause]

We are a small country, but the problems that we are confronted with and that we must resolve are not in direct relationship with the size of the country and its population. These problems are numerous, but of primary importance for every country is its political line, the road that it chooses for its economic and cultural development, and the foreign policy that it pursues. The general line of our development has been described by our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. It has been a correct line. This has been confirmed by the triumph of the revolution, the construction of socialism, and our new life. It has been confirmed by what we have achieved, by what we have built, by our international standing, and the reputation enjoyed by Socialist Albania throughout the world. [acclamation]

We will continue to march along this line unswervingly, developing our socialist economy, raising our cultural standards, improving our living standards, and increasing the country's defense potential. In our international relations, our party and people, led by Enver Hoxha, have always been principled and consistent. We have been and remain resolute in our struggle against American and Soviet imperialism, against reaction and revisionism, in the same way as we have always been and remain defenders of international peace and security, in solidarity with and supporting the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence, for democracy, and social progress. We have sought and will continue to seek friendship and cooperation with our neighbors and other European peoples. But always, in the past, at present, and in the future, too, the interests of the country, its freedom and independence, will remain our foremost priority. [applause]

Only friendship and cooperation based on equality, mutual interest, noninterference, and respect for sovereignty are stable. No pressure, no flattery, no threat will ever divert us from this line. [acclamation]

Comrades, dear citizens of Tirana and of all Albania, the celebration of the 80th anniversary of Comrade Enver Hoxha's birth and the homage paid throughout the country to his life and his contribution are another testimony to the great respect of our people for their

glorious leader; they are another testimony to their determination to march on the road described by him. Let these pure and sincere feelings and these profound and firm beliefs serve as an eternal source of patriotic and revolutionary inspiration and as an incentive to march forward to attain new victories.

Let the monument that we have inaugurated here, in the heart of Albania, be an unerring compass on the road of our revolution.

Long live the Albanian people. Long live the AWP. Glory to the work and life of our beloved leader and comrade, Enver Hoxha. [acclamation]

Alia, Leaders Lay Wreaths at Hoxha's Grave

AU1610171788 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1430 GMT on 16 October carries a 5-minute item describing a wreath-laying ceremony "this morning" at Enver Hoxha's grave in Tirana on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of Hoxha's birth.

A reporter at the scene describes the arrival of Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary; Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, and Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo members; Llambi Gegprifti, Piro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali, and Vangjel Cerrava, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate members; Nexhmije Hoxha, AWP Central committee member, and other leaders.

Alia is described as greeting the assembled crowds. According to the report, Ramiz Alia and Simon Stefani lay a wreath in the name of the AWP Central Committee with the inscription "To our dear and unforgettable teacher and leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha." Rita Marko and Xhafer Spahiu are reported as laying a wreath in the name of the Presidium of the People's Assembly. Manush Myftiu and Hekuran Isai are reported as laying a wreath in the name of the Council of Ministers, and Nexhmije Hoxha and members of the Hoxha family are also reported as laying a wreath. Wreaths are also reported on behalf of the General Council of the Democratic Front, the Ministry of People's Defense, and Tirana District AWP Committee.

The leaders are described as standing before Hoxha's grave, with clenched fists raised in salute. The report also states that members of the diplomatic corps accredited to Tirana laid wreaths on Hoxha's grave this morning.

Bulgarian Ambassador Arrives 13 October

AU1410125388 Tirana ATA in English
0910 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Tirana, October 14 (ATA)—The ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Khristaki Kunev, arrived in our country on October 13.

At the airport the ambassador was welcomed by the head of the Protocol Branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kostaq Cifligu.

Coverage of Reaction to USSR's Yazov Visit

'Received With Enthusiasm, Respect'

AU1410200088 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 12 Oct 88 pp 1, 3

[Report by Colonel Lyubomir Mikhaylov: "Fraternal, Militant Unity"]

[Excerpts] N-Garrison, 11 October (telephone report by our special correspondent)—The second day of the visit paid by Army General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, to our country was particularly active. Accompanied by his Bulgarian host, Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of national defense, the high-ranking Soviet guest acquainted himself with certain aspects of the life, training and activities of the commanders and soldiers in the Bulgarian People's Army. The visits proceeded in a businesslike atmosphere.

Wherever Army General Yazov went he was received with enthusiasm and respect. The members of the Soviet military delegation toured our beautiful country and could acquaint themselves with the great progress achieved throughout the years of constructive, socialist labor. Army General Yazov could feel the sincere love of the Bulgarian soldiers for the great Soviet country and for the soldiers and commanders of the glorious Soviet Armed Forces. He had an opportunity to closely watch the selfless efforts of our defenders of socialism, who, in the first days of the new training year, are eagerly engaged in implementing the decisions of the BCP National Conference on restructuring in all spheres of our life with great creative and political enthusiasm. [passage omitted].

Tonight a dinner was given in honor of the Soviet delegation, headed by Army General Dmitriy Yazov, on behalf of the town's party, government, and military leadership, at the N-Garrison, under the command of officer Mutafchiev.

Trip Brings 'Lasting Friendship'

AU1410183388 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 13 Oct 88 pp 1, 3

[Report by Colonel Lyubomir Mikhaylov: "New Impetus for Brotherhood in Arms"]

[Text] Yesterday was the last and most crowded day of the official and friendly visit paid by Army General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, to our country. Early in the morning, he and the Soviet delegation which he is leading arrived to the unit where Officer Gencho Denev serves. The guests inspected installations in the area of the unit, which eloquently demonstrated the tremendous changes that have taken place in the standards of training and soldiers' education, in technical equipment, and in everyday life, as well as the cultural activities of the military personnel. They visited the club and tearoom of the sub-detachment, the dormitories, the room devoted to Georgi Dimitrov, and the cultural-information center, which includes a museum, a radio and video hall, and the library. In the grounds the hosts displayed the love and care with which they maintain the Soviet weapons and technical military equipment entrusted to them.

However, the enthusiastic Bulgarian-Soviet combat friendship rally was the most exciting event of the visit. It became a spontaneous manifestion of the unshakable friendship between our two armies and peoples.

In his speech, Army General Dobri Dzhurov warmly greeted the Soviet guests—our comrades and brothers in arms and class.

For us Bulgarians, meetings with Soviet people, with representatives of the legendary Soviet Army, are always events that are filled with great emotion and enthusiasm, and have always enriched us through being an opportunity to share your experience, he stated. The Bulgarian people are forever linked to the Soviet people and the their gallant armed forces. Our people remember and venerate the great sacrifices of the thousands of Russian soldiers who devoted their lives to our liberation from the 5 centuries of Ottoman oppression, and the heroic deeds of their successors—the glorious Red Army soldiers—who rescued the world from the fascist plague and, with their assistance, decisively contributed to the victory of the 9 September 1944 Revolution in our country.

Today, the indestructible Bulgarian-Soviet friendship is our vital cause and our fate—it represents a great material and intellectual force for our socialist upsurge, the speaker further pointed out. The BCP consistently implements the policy of comprehensive cooperation and of drawing closer to the USSR. The fruitful meetings between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Mikhail Gorbachev, the implementation of the Long-Term Program on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR for the Period up to 2000, the application of progressive forms of cooperation—all these things are raising Bulgarian-Soviet friendship to a qualitatively new level.

Dear comrades in arms! You came to our country in an exceptionally important moment of its further development. With Leninist daring and elan, the BCP is directing the nation's creative efforts and energies toward fundamental, revolutionary changes in all spheres of our social life, changes which are in accordance with the new realities in our country and all over the world.

Mankind is facing a fateful turning point today, which will decide upon its future, Army General Dobri Dzhurov pointed out. As a result of the efforts devoted by the socialist countries, and primarily by the Soviet Union, as

a result of the efforts of peace-loving forces throughout the globe, and as a result of the realistic approach manifested by certain Western state and political leaders, a process of detente and of consolidating positive trends in international life was initiated.

Naturally, the Soviet party and state leadership, the CPSU, which is the creator of a new philosophy of peace and a new political thinking, played the principal role in this process. Along with all allied states, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is contributing to the consolidation of new political thinking in international life, and decisively opposes the policy of aggression and diktat, of interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign states.

The positive trends in international life make us happy, but do not justify complacency and excessive self-confidence. We, above all, the defenders of socialism, have no right to slacken our revolutionary vigilance. Side by side with the gallant Soviet soldiers and the soldiers of the other Warsaw Pact member states, side by side with the working people, with progressive and democratic forces from all over the world, side by side with all those who hate war, we will fight indomitably for the preservation of peace, civilization, and life on our planet.

Our contribution to this lofty struggle is our indefatigable daily work for the achievement of higher quality in all parameters of the combat readiness and capacity of our armed forces.

At the present time, our main efforts are being directed toward further accelerating and deepening the processes of restructuring in all fields of Army life, and developing the creative activity of the entire personnel in order to successfully solve the complex and responsible tasks relating to strengthening the Army's fighting might.

Permit me to assure you, dear Soviet brothers, that you have in us faithful friends and valiant allies, prepared to worthily carry out their patriotic and international duty, Army General Dobri Dzhurov stated in conclusion.

We were profoundly touched by the warmth and cordiality with which the commanding officers and all the soldiers of your unit welcomed the Soviet military delegation. It is no accident that people say that nothing is dearer to the heart of the soldier than friendship. Friendship strengthens his spirit, multiplies his strength, and helps him to overcome all the difficulties and gain victory in battle.

The present period is characterized by a strengthening of the cohesion of the fraternal countries, an expansion and renewal of the forms of their cooperation, and an ever deeper coordination of national and international interests. A dynamic development is also taking place in cooperation in organizing the defense of socialism in accordance with the requirements of the Warsaw Pact's defensive military doctrine. All this enables us to multiply the forces of each of the fraternal countries, accelerate our common advance, and guarantee reliable collective security.

Like the workers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Soviet people are also engaged in creative labor. They are implementing in practice the policy of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The workers and soldiers of our country have been given a new, powerful impetus of creative energy and initiative by the decisions of the recent September Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

A period of 3 and ½ years has passed since the CPSU rallied the Soviet people for restructuring, defined the people's strategy and tactics, and took the lead in the work on the revolutionary renewal of society. Restructuring, democracy, and glasnost have opened up wide opportunities for fully realizing socialism's potential, and raised even higher the international authority of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. They have imparted a particular weight and conviction to our joint foreign-policy ideas and initiatives.

The deepening and establishment of the positive trends in the international political climate and the solving of the acute problems are being obstructed by the reactionary circles of imperialism, primarily in the United States and the other NATO countries. They continue to abide by the stereotypes of power politics and the concepts of "deterrence," and are trying to attain military supremacy over the Warsaw Pact. All this has made it necessary for the states of the socialist community to increase alertness, strengthen their security, and adopt effective measures to ensure a reliable defense of socialism's achievements and of peace. Our common position in this area is specifically reflected in the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member countries. This doctrine is profoundly defensive in nature, reflects the unity of the defensive military-political aims, the common nature of the national military doctrines of the allied socialist states, and is subordinate to the tasks of not permitting war, whether nuclear or conventional, to break out.

The Bulgarian People's Army and the Soviet Armed Forces, the speaker continued, are strong component units of the indestructible military alliance of the armies of the fraternal socialist countries. Our peoples and governments are doing everything in order to maintain the technical equipment of the troops and naval forces at a level that meets contemporary requirements.

Lively links and contacts encompass all spheres in our armies and their units. The continued exchange of experience in training the soldiers and naval forces and in political education work, the coordinated solving of

operational issues and tasks relating to equipment supplies, joint exercises and maneuvers—all this represents fraternity in arms. It gives a special, unconquerable strength to the battle order of the allied socialist armies.

Soviet soldiers, like the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army, are doing everything to enable the other fraternal armies to reliably defend their peoples, the security of our community, socialism, and peace, stated Army General Dmitriy Yazov in conclusion.

Both speeches were listened to with great attention and greeted with stormy applause.

As a memento of the visit by the Soviet military delegation to Bulgaria, Army General Dmitriy Yazov presented to the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army, on behalf of the soldiers of the Soviet Armed Forces, a picture by the military artist Aleksandr Sitov entitled "Spring on the Moscow River." The Bulgarian gift, which was presented by Army General Dobri Dzhurov to the Soviet guests, was a statuette of Georgi Dimitrov, leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people and eminent figure in the international communist and workers movement.

In the town of Kazanluk, the Soviet military delegation visited the Friedrich Engels Machine-Building Combine and acquainted themselves with some of the combine's production facilities.

On the road again. At the Hill of the Liberators in Plovdiv the visitors were welcomed by city leaders, servicemen, and many citizens. Todor Petkov, mayor of Plovdiv, cordially welcomed Army General Dmitriy Yazov, and Young Pioneers fastened a red tie round his neck. The eminent guest laid fresh flowers in front of the memorial to the legendary Soviet soldier Alesha. When the Young Pioneers began singing the song about the Soviet soldier-liberator, well-known both in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, tears appeared in the eyes of Emma Yazova.

After walking around the Old Town, the delegation returned to Sofia.

In the Boyana Residence in Sofia, Army General Dobri Dzhurov presented the "Medal For Services to the Bulgarian People's Army" to Army General Dmitriy Yazov and the members of his party. The high distinction is awarded to them for the comprehensive help given to the Ministry of National Defense in solving the tasks of raising the training and combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army to a qualitatively new standard, and for their contribution to consolidating the combat friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Army and the Bulgarian People's Army.

At the Soviet Embassy in Sofia an official dinner was given in the name of Army General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of defense of the USSR. The guests included BCP Central Committee Secretary Dimitur Stanishev. Dmitriy Yazov and Dobri Dzhurov made speeches at the dinner, which took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Meetings with brothers in ideas and arms are cordial and much looked forward to, but the time of parting must come. The motor cavalcade of the dear guests and those seeing them off set off for Sofia Airport. The party to see off the eminent Soviet visitor consisted of Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense; Colonel General Velko Palin, chief of the Social and National Security Department of the BCP Central Committee; Col Gen Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army; Col Gen Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army; Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs; and deputy ministers of national defense.

Also present at the departure was Vladimir Ivanisov, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Soviet Embassy in Bulgaria; Givi Ordzhonikidze, Soviet military, air, and naval attache; and the attaches of the socialist countries accredited to Bulgaria.

Also in attendance was Col Gen Ivan Gashkov, representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces attached to the Bulgarian People's Army.

Thus ended a visit that will leave lasting traces in the fraternal relations of friendship and unity between our two peoples and Armies.

We look forward to new meetings, dear Soviet comrades in arms!

Further on Visit of State Department's Whitehead

Received by Husak

LD1410162888 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Today at Prague Castle Gustav Husak, president of the Republic, received John Whitehead, U.S. deputy secretary of state, who is on a visit to Czechoslovakia.

In an open exchange of views, the two officials examined the development of bilateral contacts and some topical questions of the international situation. They noted that political dialogue is continuing at various levels in bilateral relations, and that this makes it possible to seek opportunities for further cooperation in the economy, trade, and other spheres. They stressed that mutual understanding and the deepening of mutually advantageous cooperation between states with different social systems help to consolidate an atmosphere of trust, reduce international tension, and improve the overall situation. An important contribution in this respect, they noted, was the talks between the USSR and the United States on disarmament. Both officials voiced confidence that this process will continue and develop further in the interests of strengthening world peace.

Meets With Jakes, Sterba

LD1410194388 Prague CTK in English 1843 GMT 14 Oct 88

Text] Prague Oct 14 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes today received U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead, in the presence of party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak.

In an open discussion John Whitehead was interested in the policy of restructuring in Czechoslovakia, especially in the principles and character of the reforms of the economic mechanism and in the process of democratization of political and social life. Milos Jakes acquainted the guest with an assessment of the historical development and decisive events in the history of Czechoslovakia. He explained the intentions and aims of the present policy of the party in carrying out restructuring in all spheres of the life of society.

The two representatives exchanged views on some issues of the international situation. They underscored the usefulness of political dialogue between the two countries which contributes to mutual confidence and a better understanding of interests. They spoke in favour of the development of equal and mutually advantageous cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the United States.

U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead was received today by Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Trade Jan Sterba. They discussed questions related to Czechoslovak-U.S. trade exchanges.

Concludes Visit 16 Oct

LD1610151088 Prague CTK in English 1405 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Prague Oct 16 (CTK)—"I leave Prague convinced that relations between the USA and Czechoslovakia can be further improved. Achieving this will require a commitment from both sides to pursuing the step-by-step approach we laid out during my previous visits", U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead told journalists here today at the end of his visit to Czechoslovakia.

Speaking at a briefing before departure at Prague airport he stressed that he and Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes agreed that relations between the USA and Czechoslovakia have shown more improvement since his last visit to Czechoslovakia in February.

"We have taken some small steps forward. The content of our political dialogue has improved. Our bilateral exchange agreement has become more effective. Dozens of scholars and specialists now participate in exchange in many fields, including environment and management studies", he said.

Answering the question where he sees the priorities of the further development of relations between the USA and Czechoslovakia, the U.S. deputy secretary of state said that there are various ways of improving the relations. He pointed out especially the possibilities of expanding trade between Czechoslovakia and the USA in spite of various restrictions that exist and of participation of U.S. firms in Czechoslovakia's investments.

In his answer to the question what is his view of the Czechoslovak proposal for the creation of a zone of confidence, peace and good-neighbour relations on the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states, he said that the USA is aware of the Czechoslovak initiative, submitted by General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Milos Jakes, and would be interested in more details about it. Commenting on the first part of this proposal he said that the USA is reluctant to get into too much discussion directly with any Warsaw Treaty country because for the USA these are decisions which must be taken jointly with the NATO allies. He stressed the U.S. belief that the military aspects of the Czechoslovak initiative should be discussed by NATO on the one hand and the Warsaw Treaty countries as a group on the other. This kind of plan under those kind of discussions might be promising, he said.

The USA is interested in details in connection with the second part of the Czechoslovak initiative concerning the political and other relations between the Eastern and Western countries of Europe, he said, adding that they are promising in confidence-building, reducing tension between East and West, and in principle the USA is of the opinion that they should be pursued. He added that

as the USA is not a neighbour of Czechoslovakia, this part of the proposal does not concern it directly but that the USA would appreciate more details about it.

U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead left here for Brussels today.

Daily Comments on 'Dramatic' SFRY Events

AU1410153188 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Oct 88 p 7

[Julius Loerincz commentary: "Dramatic Days in Yugoslavia"]

[Text] "Our friends do not understand what has gotten into us. They call us the sickest patient in Europe.... Have we really lost our senses and, blinded by tribal and ethnic passions like in the 18th and 19th century, will we again succumb to hatred and bloodshed?" These drastic words were used by the well-known Yugoslav journalist Jug Grizelj in the Split publication SLODODNA DALMACIJA. He may have exaggerated a bit but, regrettably, his statement is not completely divorced from the dramatic reality of present-day Yugoslavia. Hardly a day passes without some huge mass demonstration or meeting being held somewhere and raising social, national, or political demands. Party leaderships (Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina), governments (that of the SR of Montenegro), and politicians (Franc Setinc and Bosko Krunic, members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium) are stepping down, and the polemics raging between newspapers and television and radio journalists are reminiscent of fights "between religious sects," to use the words of Svetozar Durutovic, federal secretary for information.

Where are the root causes of all this? Milan Nikolic, chairman of the trade union organization of a large factory at Rakovica on the periphery of Belgrade, spoke about them indirectly, yet very succinctly, at a demonstration before the Federal Assembly (the federal parliament) last week: "We have agreed that we must work more, but our wages are getting smaller, compared with the growing cost of living. We are suffering from the consequences of the crisis, but we can no longer agree with the way politics are decided upon; we cannot reconcile ourselves to the powerlessness of the state and to a future without hope."

For several years already, for example, Yugoslavia has been unable to come to terms with manifestations of Albanian nationalism in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo. Its aggressiveness forces the Serbs and Montenegrins living there to leave their homes and move out of this autonomous province, which is part of the SR of Serbia (just like Vojvodina) and which has an Albanian majority. This summer, mass meetings of solidarity with Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins began to be organized in Serbia. However, chauvinistic and reactionary elements are increasingly making themselves felt in these meetings and have often managed to stamp an antisocialist mark on them. Many legitimate expressions of concern and discontent with the social situation in the country have evolved into demagogic attacks on other nationalities (not against nationalists but against Albanians as such, for example), politicians, and democratically elected leading agencies in the party or in government structures. The truth has been confirmed once again that one sort of nationalism cannot be combatted by inciting another type of nationalism, and that toying with national feelings and passions is a very dangerous political game. In one of its commentaries Belgrade BORBA pointed out: "It needs to be persistently repeated that the so-called democracy of the street is definitely not a good method of political struggle. In this case, messages and decisions are accepted only if they are addressed to the heart, and not to the intellect. Passions and emotions have never led to good solutions."

The aforementioned Franc Setinc resigned from the post of member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium to warn with this step that many politicians, especially those in the Serbian leadership, underestimate the negative aspects of the wave of demonstrations and do not want to see the spreading nationalistic demagogy that only diverts attention from a purposeful solution to the country's basic social, economic, and political problems. Last but not least, it also disrupts the fraternity and unity of the Yugoslav nations.

The call for an extraordinary LCY congress is heard from many sides. The weekly KOMUNIST devoted an editorial to this issue; it warns that in the present situation the congress could only become an instrument of "redistribution of political power" among individual groups. At the same time, however, it writes that the idea of an extraordinary congress is not quite unrealistic but that, prior to such a congress, it is necessary to open the doors to a marked differentiation within the LCY in order to make a clean break with those who would like to revise the workers-class character of the party, are incompetent and have turned out to be careerists, as well as with those who flirt with bourgeois political pluralism.

The 17th session of the LCY Central Committee will meet on Monday, 17 October, and, according to the wish of the majority of Communists and Yugoslav working people without party affiliations, it should represent a pronounced and energetic step in this process of differentiation, so that consistent reforms in the economy, in the political system (including, apparently, also inevitable changes in the Constitution, which is marked, according to the aforementioned S. Durutovic, by "self-management idealism"), and in the LCY itself may put Yugoslavia back on firmer ground again. This is unavoidable because Marjan Kompasi, federal secretary of the Croatian Trade Unions Council, probably did not engage in idle talk when he said in BORBA: "We have drifted to the very bottom of what is socially tolerable, and unless some change occurs soon, I do not know to what end all of this will lead us."

FRG's Genscher Interviewed on Disarmament, Peace

AU1310155788 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 12 Oct 88 p 2

[Interview with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher by Christoph Funke, deputy chief editor of DER MORGEN, during the 39th Regular FDP Congress in Wiesbaden on 7 and 8 October: "Desire for Peace"]

[Text] Funke: A motion of the FDP Federal Presidium to the 39th Regular FDP Congress has formulated the declaration to "continue the successful peace and disarmament policy of making secure steps and of taking the responsibility for the future." What are the opportunities provided by this declaration to the FRG foreign minister and which obligations does it entail for him?

Genscher: The motion of the Federal Presidium reflects the long-standing continuity and predictability of liberal values with regard to safeguarding peace. Now it is important not only to use the new way of thinking in West-East relations for further disarmament steps but to work for a fundamental change that will lead from the reduction of confrontation to broad cooperation and to the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act in all fields. We want a European peace, in which states with different political and social systems live together in peaceful competition. A European peace or this common European home is to be founded on the observance of human rights; this common European home is to be a house with open doors and open windows for the free movement of people, ideas, and goods.

Funke: The same motion contains one of the concepts you have often mentioned, namely, to replace "non-war by deterrence" with "peace, achieved by cooperation and detente." The motion says that "our political thinking has to be determined by the goal to make wars not only less terrible but unwageable." Which concrete steps, do you think, will be taken in the near future in order to make this "liberal foreign and security policy," as the motion calls it and which is considerably influenced by you, effective in political reality?

Genscher: The central problem of military security on our continent is the establishment of conventional stability in Europe. It is our goal to eliminate superiority and imbalances in the conventional field through asymmetric disarmament and to work toward a condition in Europe, where none of the sides has the capability to stage a surprise attack on foreign territory or large-scale offensives, something which is already true for the West. Now it is necessary to make every effort at the Vienna negotiations to achieve a balanced final document by the end of October 1988 and to adopt a mandate for negotiations on conventional stability for all of Europe by the end of the year.

Our concepts on disarmament policy also contain a 50-percent reduction of strategic weapons, the speedy conclusion of a comprehensive, worldwide agreement on the ban of chemical weapons, and negotiations on Soviet and U.S. shorter-range nuclear missiles, as proposed by the Western alliance in Reykjavik in 1987.

In addition, however, we need new structures of military security. The net of deterrence through nuclear and conventional means—the net of ultima ratio—must be covered by an additional net, which reduces the risks resulting from exclusively relying on military deterrence. Specifically, what is needed is the establishment of reliable cooperative security structures and the elimination of the reasons for tension and distrust.

Funke: Which possibilities do you see for the further shaping of sensible relations between the two German states as an important stabilizing element of the situation in Europe and international development in general?

Genscher: The people in the two German states also have a deep desire for peace. This gives us strength to take up our common responsibility for the survival of mankind in a world awash with nuclear weapons. Despite their ideological differences, both German states are making important contributions to understanding, comprehension, and cooperation, so as to establish a European peace from the Atlantic to the Urals in line with the CSCE Helsinki Final Act. Both German states participate in the common responsibility for the future of the German nation and for peace in Europe.

Funke: The relations between the FDP and the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, which have been continuously expanded since 1973, are an important element of such a sensible relationship between the two German states. What are your concepts about the further cooperation between the two parties, which is to serve peace and mutual understanding?

Genscher: Both parties can make an important contribution to dialogue and cooperation between the two German states.

State Condemns FRG Remarks on Germany Policy

On 'Slander,' 'Interference'

LD1410132388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1213 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Kurt Nier, the GDR deputy foreign minister, has lodged a protest with F.J. Staab, charge d'affaires ad interim of the FRG in the GDR, about slanders of the GDR and interference in its internal affairs, expressed in a Bundestag question time on Thursday in statements by members of the Federal Government as well as by Bundestag deputies.

Kurt Nier said that the FRG has therefore abandoned the joint communique on Erich Honecker's state visit to the FRG and violated the conditions of the Basic Treaty. At the same time, this flouts the Helsinki Final Act. Such

behavior can only put a strain on relations between the two states, which are known to have developed positively as a result of Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG.

It is expected that the FRG will adhere strictly to the agreements concluded and fulfill the obligations adopted in the joint communique.

Responds to SPD Spokesman

LD1410144788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1329 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Press reports from Bonn, SPD parliamentary group spokesman Buechler is looking in the wrong direction with his insinuations about the GDR. Mr Buechler, and not the GDR, is under pressure for reform. Speeches by other SPD politicians in the Bundestag in Bonn and elsewhere also indicate this. The responsible GDR authorities are surprised at this poor outlook.

More on 'Sharp Attacks'

LD1410152588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1322 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday afternoon the parties represented in the Bundestag met for "question time" in Bonn. In a display of rare unanimity, deputies staged a ghoulish scene: sharp attacks on the GDR state and party leadership and flagrant interference in its internal affairs. An incident was played up with pathos in order to charge the GDR with "burdening relations."

Aside from the fact that this "question time" in itself constitutes indefensible interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign neighboring state, it was not, from the point of view of its basic premise, a great moment for West German parliamentarians either.

What was it all about? On Monday afternoon an unregistered and therefore unauthorized small mob meeting took place in the Berlin city borough of Mitte which had been prearranged with Western correspondents.

As in any state governed by the rule of law, the members of the people's police carried out their duty in stopping this illegal action. In the process, as reported by the GDR press, a group of about 80 people were detained and released the same evening with a warning.

Western journalists and camera teams from ARD [German television channel 1] and ZDF [German television channel 2], who were on the scene at the right time, had to consider the possibility of legal measures being taken by the state right from the start. They therefore bear responsibility themselves for the consequences of their participation in this unauthorized mob gathering.

The working possibilities taken advantage of by these journalists and now bemoaned by the Bundestag do not just end in our country when journalists hamper the work of the security forces.

With this type of reporting, which they themselves see as interference in the GDR's internal affairs, the ARD and ZDF correspondents are meeting neither the letter and spirit of the CSCE process nor what has been agreed in the communique on the visit to the FRG by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State. It states: "General Secretary Honecker and Federal Chancellor Kohl emphasized the great importance of comprehensive, factual information by the press, radio, and television for the further development of good-neighborly relations."

The speakers in the recent "question time" are also aware that the working conditions for journalists, agreed in the exchange of letters on the Basic Treaty, have proved to be a viable consensus over 15 years. It is not the assertion of the GDR's sovereignty in regulating its internal affairs, but the attempts at interference from Bonn which harbor the danger of burdening FRG-GDR relations. However, this would be—as emphasized by both sides on numerous occasions—neither in the interests of the people nor the spirit of the times.

John Whitehead Arrives on Official Visit

LD1610165288 Budapest MTI in English 1626 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 16 (MTI)—John C. Whitehead, deputy secretary of state of the United States of America, arrived in Hungary on an official visit on Sunday [16 October].

Ceausescu Visits Hungarian Pavilion in Bucharest

AU1410180288 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Oct 88 p 2

[MTI report: "Ceausescu in the Hungarian Pavilion in Bucharest"]

[Text] "There are opportunities for cooperation and for the implementation of agreements," Nicolae Ceausescu said on 12 October while visiting the Hungarian pavilion at the Bucharest International Fair. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president, visited the Hungarian pavilion together with his wife, Elena Ceausescu, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and with several other party and state leaders.

Prior to his departure, Nicolae Ceausescu spoke about the importance of the economic cooperation between the two countries and encouraged the broadening of this cooperation. He mentioned the planned cooperation in the production of Dacia automobiles, but also urged the establishment of similar cooperation in other areas.

Environmentalists Continue To Oppose Dam Project

LD1410172088 Budapest MTI in English 1621 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 14 (MTI)—The representatives of the Danube Circle and other alternative environmentalist movements have refused to accept the parliamentary decision that the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage should continue. They stated at a press conference that the majority of deputies had not represented the opinion and will of their electors. A political prestige decision has been made instead of a technical decision, Janos Vargha, leader of the Danube Circle, said.

According to the position of environmentalist movements and the Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers (TDDSZ) issued at the press conference, the investment costs of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project would exceed 100,000 million forints. The government, however, continues to calculate with 1985 prices. In exchange for the Austrian contribution of 6,500 million schillings, Hungary has to deliver 22,000 million schillings worth of electric energy to Austria until the year 2015.

The TDDSZ position objects that neither the deputies nor the government considered the opinion of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences urging to stop construction. TDDSZ demands the publishing of all scientific results and calculations related to the project and the names of persons responsible.

It was announced that the alternative environmentalist movements and groups would launch a campaign to collect signatures for a petition demanding that the project be halted.

KISZ UCC Drafts Letter to Council of Ministers

LD1610025988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] At this moment, the University and College Council [UCC] of the KISZ Central Committee is meeting. Our correspondent Zsolt Bocska reports:

[Bocskai] The events of the past months have repeatedly demonstrated that the government enjoys confidence from public opinion only when and to the extent that its words, its proclaimed program, are supported by deeds and consistent government work. All this is also valid vis-a-vis the reform of higher education, which the party and state leadership has promised since 1981. This is how the draft open letter which the KISZ Central Committee's UCC is now discussing begins. It is addressed to the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic:

The increasingly frequent university and college actions and demonstrations indicate that tension is growing among students. If next year's budget also does not promise a favorable and serious change in financial support, higher education will become a base for the country's political destabilization. This perhaps can be prevented with such a resolute letter which reflects a stand, to force concrete decisions. This is what I have heard so far in the debate.

A few more sentences from the letter: Due to the lack of development for many years, Hungarian higher education has ended up in an impossible situation. Now, even the elemental conditions for teaching are lacking at many places. Several institutions are on the threshold of material collapse, or of ordering a winter coal-break. The money necessary for normal operation can only be provided by reducing subsidies for loss-making enterprises, by a rationalization of large investments. If we do not want to forfeit the remaining chance to make the country competitive, the further atrophy of education can not be allowed.

The draft open letter concludes as follows: It would amount to a rejection of the entire past activity of the UCC if we were to support the policy which gives rise to a further cutback in higher education. We agree with and shall support those who fight for a comprehensive, radical restructuring [atalakitas] in higher education, too.

UCC Views Future KISZ Structure

LD1610030588 Budapest MTI in English 2058 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 15 (MTI)—The Hungarian Communist Youth Union (KISZ) has convened a meeting for November 11-12 to draw the conclusions of a national debate held over the political platform, programme and organizational principles of the KISZ organizations working at universities and colleges. Preparing for the meeting, the KISZ University and College Council (UCC) held a session on Saturday [15 October].

The UCC discussed a proposal for the agenda of the meeting, and outlined its ideas for the future structure of KISZ. As part of preparations for the national KISZ conference, the UCC is to organize a political consultation in which the representatives of the KISZ organizations will exchange views with the representatives of other forces emerging in the institutions of higher education.

According to the UCC, the youth union should hold continuous dialogue with other youth groups. The most new groups and organizations have emerged in higher education. On the basis of the current debates, the UCC seeks to adopt a common position on the political, organizational and personnel issues to be discussed by the national KISZ conference, and pass decisions on further tasks in transforming the KISZ. In its Saturday session the UCC formulated an open letter to the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic. The letter stressed, among other things, that 'the developments in recent months proved again that the government enjoys the confidence of the general public only as long as its words and declared programme are supported by deeds and consistent governmental work. All this holds true of the reform of higher education which has been promised by the party and state leadership since 1981.'

The open letter stressed that it would have been the task of the economic policy leadership and the government to create the financial conditions of the reform, so they bear responsibility for the policy that naturally doomed to failure the reform at universities and colleges.

The UCC secretary emphasized: Higher education should be prevented from becoming a basis of political instability for which the council bears political responsibility. The open letter stressed: It is a crucial issue whether the party and government realize their declared intentions.

Document Seeks Democratic Elections

LD1610031188 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Excerpt] The UCC of the KISZ Central Committee is putting the draft plan, which they have just debated in Budapest, up for debate.

The document deals in detail with the reform of the political system, and sets as its main aim the creation of a democratic, socialist Hungary. It states that the fundamental institution of democracy is a democratically elected parliament, and one that functions in accordance with this. With the amendment of electoral regulations, it must be made possible for every candidate accepting the constitutional order to compete under the same conditions under law. The maintenance of the privilege of the PPF in conection with elections is not justified. Instead of the present system of nominating meetings, a way must be found for a group of citizens of a certain number, along with social organizations, to make nominations, says the draft plan.

The KISZ section council proposes the convening of a youth policy meeting, at which, alongside the KISZ, the representatives of various political forces formed elsewhere would also participate.

The body addressed an open letter to the Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

Research Institute Academy Isolates AIDS Virus

LD1410165088 Budapest MTI in English 1402 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 14 (MTI)—On Friday [14 October] morning, representatives of the Isotope Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences reported on successful cases of isolating AIDS viruses in patients. They said that in March this year the viruses were separated from blood samples taken from AIDS patients using cytological techniques pioneered by the Karolinska Institute, Stockholm. Cell cultures were infected with one of the viruses under laboratory conditions in order to carry out a thorough examination of the Hungarian strain of the AIDS virus.

Isolation of the virus is an important step forward: A knowledge of the virus and its composition means infection can be diagnosed even in the intitial stages when no antibodies will show up during serological tests. Now comparing notes with other countries may reveal relevant information about the prognosis and possible combatting of the disease in Hungary.

Government Discusses Wage Bargaining, Strikes

LD1410084688 Budapest MTI in English 2035 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 13 (MTI)—Replacing government spokesman Gyorgy Marosan currently on holiday, Zsolt Bajnok, editor-in-chief of the government daily "MAGYAR HIRLAP", covered the Thursday [13 October] session of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. He said the first point on the agenda was a review on youth tourism after the decline of the 1980s. Although the relevant budget allocation will not increase, funds are to be used more efficiently and young people are to be granted more reductions, mainly for travel.

Under-secretary of State Csaba Halmos, president of the State Office for Wages and Labour, pointed out that the adoption of the Law of Association has raised the need for modification of a few laws and decrees. He mentioned the changes in company wage bargain contracts, which will no longer be compulsory should one of the parties hold it unjustified to conclude the contract. Although the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT) agrees with the idea in a longer perspective, it believes that such a change can only be carried out gradually, and therefore proposed to make the agreement compulsory on the request of one of the parties.

On the right of strike, the under-secretary of state stressed the government is largely interested in early settlement of the issue, as earlier the Hungarian People's Republic committed itself under an international covenant to regulate the right of strike in Hungary. The government and the Central Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) are in agreement over the main principles of regulation. The details of the concept will be presented to the next government session, and in December the issue will be discussed by the parliament when amending the Labour Code. The representative of the trade unions informed the government session that in their view the right of strike should be regulated in the Trade Union Law, instead of the Labour Code. The government rejected this view, saying that the drafting of the Trade Union Law is as yet uncertain. To the question whether the government held preliminary discussions on the right of strike with trade unions outside SZOT, the under-secretary of state gave a negative reply, but added that these trade unions will also be able to present their views during subsequent social debate.

Answering questions, Zsolt Bajnok stated that to promote implementation of the wage measures decided at the September 22 session of the government and SZOT, the Commission of Economic Planning decided that as of October 1 some 140,000 people will receive pay rises, with 1,200 million forints budget subsidy, including certain groups of health workers, journalists and postal workers. The wage increase of teachers, which would require 270 million forints budget contribution, will be presented to parliament by the finance minister. He also said that the government will inform the public on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project twice a year, and discounted rumours about the devaluation of the forint.

Romanian-Speaking Gypsies Set Up Association

AU1310130688 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 6 Oct 88 p 14

[Summary] In order to improve their cultural level, the Romanian-speaking Beja Gypsies of Baranya County have set up an association in Gilvanfa. About 30,000 members of this Gypsy population live on the left bank of the Drava River, in Baranya, Somogy, and Zala Counties. The ancestors of these Beja Gypsies, who established the first cultural Beja association in the world, settled in Hungary 200 years ago. The word beja means miner, and many of these Gypsies even today work in the mining and wood industry. However, a majority of them work in construction. Their vocabulary includes words from an old Romanian dialect but their education lags behind the average Hungarian education, and only a few of them have finished secondary school or are enrolled in high school.

The association "Fii Cu Noi," meaning "be with us," set the goal of ensuring the independent cultural development of its members and restoring movie theaters and culture houses in Baranya County and in the neighboring areas. The association calls for the assistance of all those who are ready to help in the implementation of its goals.

4th Regional TV Studio Established

LD1410115688 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] There wil be local TV broadcasting in Miskolc as well. After Pecs, Szeged, and Budapest, the fourth regional Hungarian TV studio will begin broadcasting in the second half of next year. Its programs will deal with life in Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen, Hevs, and Nograd Counties.

Warsaw Notes Upcoming Thatcher Visit

LD1410184588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Mrs Margaret Thatcher, prime minister of Great Britain, will pay an official visit to Poland in early November at the invitation of Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Deputy Secretary Whitehead's Visit Commented On

Improved U.S. Relations Noted

LD1410231488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2215 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Andrzej Zychowicz attended the press conference given today by the U.S. deputy secretary of state. Here is his commentary:

[Zychowicz] The talks with John Whitehead in Warsaw were held in a good climate. This was also reflected in today's press conference during which he said, among other things, that he agrees with Prime Minister Rakowski that the policy of small steps in Polish-U.S. relations should transform itself into a policy of larger steps. This is particularly essential, let us add, in economic relations.

As one can deduce from Whitehead's statement, economic matters were a significant topic of his talks and there is a chance for gradual improvement in this sphere. Saying that the United States has allocated a fund necessary to implement the Polish-U.S. agreement on developing scientific and technological contacts, Whitehead added that favorable possibilities exist for developing economic cooperation in the coming months and years. His statement was, therefore, extremely optimistic.

If we speak about economic and financial issues, we must take into consideration both direct bilateral relations and indirect ones, the ones that result from the activities of such international institutions as the IMF, the World Bank, or the Paris Club, where the United States has considerable influence. The position of Poland within these institutions has already strengthened. Soon, IMF experts will come to Poland and the results of these talks will influence the rescheduling of the Polish debt. They will also influence an increase in economic cooperation with the West, above all with the United States.

A clear improvement in relations can be seen between Washington and Warsaw and John Whitehead's visit to Poland is part of the proof of this. Polish-U.S. dialogue is developing and one should hope that steps in the economic sphere will not become only larger but also more concrete.

Favorable Outcome of Visit

LD1410221088 Warsaw PAP in English 2123 GMT 14 Oct 88

[In Wake of John Whitehead's Visit to Poland; by Zbigniew Boniecki"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 14—The third visit of U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John C. Whitehead to Poland in the last two years, which coincided with exceptionally important days of Polish renewal, proceeded favourably. During the two days of his stay in this country the American politician was received by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mieczyslaw Rakowski. He also talked with Jozef Czyrek and Minister Olechowski.

These meetings as well as the plenary talks at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs served to strengthen all the positive trends which have occurred in Polish-American relations in the last two years. They have proved that certain progress is being made in the American understanding of Polish realities, not only political but also economic ones. Nevertheless, the development of political dialogue continues to significantly outpace the development of economic relations, and especially financial and credit ones.

John Whitehead's statement to the effect that he agrees with the remarks made by Premier Rakowski on Polish-American relations stirs hope. That is what he said at his press conference before departing from Warsaw today.

Let us recall that in the expose delivered yesterday, Premier Rakowski stated: "If the U.S. Government seriously treats its previous declarations on Polish matters, those encouraging sweeping reforms, then it must be said that there are no more grounds to check our cooperation with international financial organizations. We are open to a further improvement of our relations with the U.S.. Washington is saying: Step by step. O.K. but let the steps be longer."

At the same press conference, John Whitehead, stating that Poland was at a moment of great opportunities, expressed a hope that the new Polish premier would make headway in the direction of reform. In the opinion of the U.S. deputy secretary of state, the new cabinet testifies to a dynamic will to strive at changes. We are optimistic about the new government and wish it success, John Whitehead said.

He also voiced an opinion that all the participants in preparatory talks preceding the "round table" were approaching them with big commitment and a willingness to develop democratic institutions and pluralism.

Results Seen as Good

LD1510054088 Warsaw PAP in English 0046 GMT 15 Oct 88

["Press Review"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 15—Saturday's press is dominated by the issue of the day—appointment of new government by Sejm (Polish parliament) and voting its approval for the programme presented to the deputies by Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski on Thursday Oct 13.

Newspapers give almost entire space to extensive reports from the second day of the 2-day Sejm session, new cabinet personal photographs, and their profiles. Inside columns carry reports from the ceremony of handing over nomination acts to members of the government appointed yesterday by Sejm and short interviews with the members of new cabinet.

Special prominence is given to the issues connected with the preparations to the round table talks.

Weekend editions of newspapers also print extensive coverage of Premier Rakowski's press conference held in the Council of Ministers building yesterday.

National dailies also quote world press opinions on the new government, announce the visit to Poland by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, scheduled for early November, and comment on the just closed John Whitehead visit to Poland.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY commentator termed the results of the Polish visit by U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead as good and resulting in concrete conclusions for the future.

The visit "was characterised by mutual kindness in discussion, absence of confrontational tones also when referring to bilateral affairs where there were differences in approach, and finally, a concrete look on the further development of mutual contacts and cooperation," ZYCIE said.

"A positive change has shown up in the U.S. side's approach to the problems of economic cooperation with Poland, that is to progress in bilateral economic links, U.S. support to Polish interests on the forum of international financial organizations and to encouring business circles to create joint enterprises and other forms of presence on the [words indistinct].

"However, it should be clearly stressed, the above positive development of contacts will depend on the economic results in our country," the paper observed.

"The fact that the Polish-U.S. political dialogue is being held on a high level in an atmosphere of greater understanding for Poland makes that the conditions for swifter steps on the path to the development of economic relations and further contacts in all fields seem fully feasible. Neither side produces an in blanco cheque but both attach further progress in the political dialogue with a favourable evolution of mutual economic interests and finally, with a general improvement of the East-West relations and a qualitatively new stage in the U.S.-USSR relations.

"Full normalisation, further improvement, and, eventually all-round development of bilateral U.S.-Poland links have all advantageous premises. Even if the steps made on this path could be bigger and quicker, it is important that they are being made. And both, John Whitehead and his Polish interlocutors agree with this conclusion," ZYCIE writes.

Dismissed Miners March Through Warsaw

AU1410184788 Paris AFP in English 1839 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 14 (AFP) - Thirty-seven miners from southern Poland who were dismissed for their role in last August's strikes marched in Warsaw on Friday to protest their non-rehiring, an informed source said.

The men, who wore placards bearing their names and addresses, were not stopped by police as they marched from the Royal Castle Square to the communist party headquarters, a distance of about two kilometers (more than a mile).

Though the government, in negotiating an end to the strikes, had promised all dismissed workers would be rehired, nearly 200 are either jobless, or were rehired at lower pay, or were forced to join the military, opposition sources have said.

Solidarity Backers Clash With Militia in Gdansk

LD1610185888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Following a service in the Church of St. Bridget in Gdansk there was again an improvised pro-Solidarity rally in the square by the church. A group of the unreconciled then paraded through the streets of the town, with anti-communist slogans, to the Marian Basilica where a high mass was taking place. Until 1300 chanting only took place. Then, the events took on a more serious character. The demonstrators erected barricades using benches and trash cans.

Banners of Solidarity and the Confederation of Independent Poland [KPN] were attacked with stones and milk bottles from crates standing by a dairy store. The furniture of the Marysienka summer cafe, which was standing outside, was completely wrecked; windows were smashed in a Komis shop [shop selling second-hand and foreign goods on a commission basis]; one set of shops on Szeroka street was completely taken apart [rozebrano doszczetnie]. The demonstrators set fire to rubbish bins and containers. Shouts were raised: Hang communists

from branches; ZOMO—Gestapo; Rakowski out [komunistow na galezie; ZOMO Gestapo; precz z rakowskim]. These calls were mainly from juveniles, 16 and 17 year-olds, and also 50-60 year-old women who egged the youths on to battle. The forces of law and order reacted calmly and carefully. Desite the insults and stones flying around, the militiamen did not let themselves be provoked. Force was not used.

Around 1500 the militia brought two water cannons into the area of the disturbances. Four militiamen were wounded. The disturbance lasted until 1600. The demonstrators later lost both the will and desire to man the barricades as there were no onlookers and there was no one to impress. Despite the calls of the ringleaders, the forces were visibly melting away, leaving behind blazing rubbish, piles of broken bottles, broken trash cans, and benches, demolished sidewalks; the walls of historic buildings were defaced with slogans praising Solidarity, the KPN, the freedom and peace group, and also the satanists [szatanisci; youth sub-culture]

This all took place on Sunday, when in thousands of churches across the country the 10th anniversary of the pontificate of the Polish pope was being ceremonially marked.

OPZZ 'Ready' To Begin Roundtable Talks

LD1410233688 Warsaw PAP in English
2245 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 14—It was said in the main edition of the T.V. news programme that the team of OPZZ (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) representatives to the "round-table" talks met here today.

A communique issued after the meeting said that the trade unionists were ready to begin the talks immediately.

Ports TU Congress Supports Roundtable Idea

LD1510220488 Warsaw PAP in English
2117 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Szczecin, Oct. 15—A congress of the Federation of Trade Unions of Sea Ports, attended by delegates representing over 13,000 trade unionists from 15 trade union organizations operating in Polish ports and related enterprises has held debates on the premises of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port.

Chief attention was focused on such issues as the new old age pensions law, collective labour contracts, implementation of price-income policy, stand on the second stage of economic reform, housing, environmental protection, sport and recreation.

We back the idea of agreement, and consequently the round table talks, but I think, just as my trade union colleagues, that only one trade union may operate in one enterprise. It is our duty to give maximum support to the government of Prime Minister Rakowski, Miroslaw Don, the secretary of the federation who participated in the congress told PAP.

In the resolution the necessity of entering into talks with the ministry to work out new collective contracts has been underlined. The need for a new law on pensions has also been mentioned.

The congress was attended by the vice-chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ Waclaw Martyniuk.

Sejm Members Remarks at Cabinet Approval Noted

LD1410184188 Warsaw PAP in English
1632 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 14—The Sejm on Friday appointed a new government as proposed by Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski to parliament on Thursday. The members of the new Council of Ministers received their nominations on Oct. 14.

The government was appointed after the conclusion of a debate today on the premier's statement on the proposed composition and program of government. In an unanimously passed resolution referring to Rakowski's expose, the Sejm expressed a conviction that the announced consistent and decisive policy of continuing deep reforms and socialist renewal on the basis of broad national agreement would win growing social support for the government's activities.

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mieczyslaw Rakowski were present in the debate room. During the debate on the premier's statement on the proposed composition and program of the government, speakers representing the deputy floor groups of the Christian Social Association and the PAX Catholic Association lent their support to the program of the new government, approving its composition.

"The PAX floor group gives the government a vote of confidence. We will support its program of taking the country out of the crisis. We express a hope that the government will do its utmost to expand its social base and will act in constant contact with society," a PAX deputy stated from the Sejm rostrum.

Norbert Aleksiewicz (PUWP), associated with the National Union of Farmers and agricultural circles and organizations, stated that the union pinned big hopes on the idea of the round table meeting. Our presence there is indispensable, he said.

Bogdan Suchodolski (Independent) thought it purposeful to build a great congress centre to mark the 50th anniversary of People's Poland, one that would focus work and discussion on the culture of an integrated Europe

and its future. A great museum of the history of Polish culture would also be desirable, one that would deepen the Poles' national consciousness and present it to the world, Suchodolski said.

Deputy Zbigniew Puzewicz (PUWP) proposed to enter the paramount task of properly using the intellectual potential of Polish men and women on the list of the priority tasks of the new government.

Zygmunt Kostarczyk (Independent, Polish Social Catholic Union) found the return of Lech Walesa to the arena of official public life and recognition in him of a partner in talks by the authorities one of the key sources of hope. This is an act of far-sightedness and political prudence on the part of the authorities, indicating their understanding of the political imponderables. Walesa of course stands for the issue of "Solidarnosc" which continues to be this phenomenon of Poland's latest history which is still difficult to be unequivocally defined, Kostarczyk said.

In his view, the workers themselves should be left with the decision of whether they want one or more trade unions in their workyards.

The opposition is a permanent fragment of the political landscape in Poland. It is in the interest of the [passage indistinct] a fully civic society entails, as expressed by the opposition, onto a higher level of structures and institutions of public life, Kostarczyk continued.

The deputy stated that the Polish Catholic Social Union floor group will vote for the government though not without reservations, continuing to expect a fundamental change in the system of exercising power.

Deputy Alicja Braclawska-Rewera (United Peasant Party) stated: In expressing support for the new government, residents of the countryside believe that the premier—a peasant's son—will want to capitalize on it for the good of the country and the development and advancement of the countryside.

Deputy Ryszard Czyz (PUWP) read a telex addressed to him from the "Wykromet" mechanical equipment works in Czestochowa expressing support for the premier and the contents of his expose. I think that you already today have the support of the working class, the deputy said addressing the premier.

Deputy Ryszard Wojna (PUWP) stated: In declaring support for the government in the implementation of what is possible—and this is what politics is all about—we expect it to strengthen the state ruled by law. This is an exceptionally important condition for the implementation of the great program of our political and economic reforms.

As the supreme legislative body, we are of course aware that the effectiveness of law also depends on the degree of its social acceptance. The planned and already advanced legislative undertakings, put into effect with a view to winning broad social support should allow the government to execute the norms in force with greater effectiveness than has been the case so far. The elaboration of new rules of the game between the government bloc and the opposition groups depends on this to a large extent, Wojna concluded.

The Sejm next voted on the composition of the government. It approved the composition of the cabinet with 363 votes for and one against.

Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski thanked the members of the previous cabinet for its cooperation with the Sejm and its bodies in the difficult period for the country and congratulated the newly appointed members of Premier Rakowski's cabinet.

Jaruzelski Attends Cabinet Changeover Ceremony

LD1410210888 Warsaw PAP in English 1910 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 14: Soon after the Sejm meeting today, in the presence of Wojciech Jaruzelski, Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski and former Premier Zbigniew Messner, deputy Sejm speakers and members of the Council of Seniors—the Sejm speaker, Roman Malinowski presented members of the former government with recall acts and members of the govenment appointed by the Sejm on Friday with nomination acts.

The speaker thanked Messner and all the members of the outgoing cabinet for their cooperation with the Sejm and extended best wishes to them.

Malinowski congratulated new cabinet members and wished the government to implement—with the participation of all social and political forces—the directions of action and plans, presented in the Sejm by Premier Rakowski, for the benefit of the country.

Jaruzelski on Prospects of New Government

LD1510043788 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Interview with PZPR First Secretary General Wojciech Jaruzelski at the Sejm Building in Warsaw at a ceremony to hand over acts of nomination to new Council of Ministers members on 14 October—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified female reporter] General, do you think that this government will have an easier time than the government which was led by you?

[Jaruzelski] I think it should be easier because the situation is not as difficult and dramatic as when I became premier. I do not know if you can remember those years—you are very young so you might not

remember. Those years were more difficult; we had to overcome a few very difficult obstacles—I shall call them that—and I think that the years which have passed, irrespective of their complexity, did create a certain continuity on which one can build today, although Premier Rakowski will not have an easy task. But I believe, because I worked with him for 5 years, that he will be able to overcome these difficulties.

[Reporter] How do you evaluate the unified support given to him by the Sejm?

[Jaruzelski] I think this is a great trump card for the new government, which can feel that the Sejm has given decisive and united support to it; but of course, the Sejm will also control it.

[Reporter] Thank you very much.

Rakowski Gives News Conference 14 Oct

LD1510085488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1222 GMT 14 Oct 88

[News Conference by Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski with Polish and foreign journalists, moderated by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban, from the Hall of Columns of the Council of Ministers chamber in Warsaw—live]

[Text] [Urban] [Passage indistinct] someone wrote, at the same time, that Prime Minister Rakowski's job is the most difficult in Europe. I therefore, introduce the holder of this most difficult job. Well, Premier Rakowski does not need an introduction to hardly anyone in this room.

[Rakowski] I await your questions.

[Urban] Please, go ahead. [passage indistinct; reporter's question and first part of Rakowski's reply]

[Rakowski] Do you mean surnames? Or just initials? I spoke to Professor Trzeciakowski, I spoke to Andrzej Micewski and with Mr. Julian Auleytner. To the last I offered the post of minister of labor and social policy. To Mr. Trzeciakowski I proposed the post of deputy premier in the Polish Government. Whereas I proposed to Mr. Auleytner, who was, as it happens, the person most ready to accept this position but who did not wish to take this post as a representative of these forces... [Rakowski changes thought] Mr. Auleytner, as I said, was the one who was most ready to join, so I must separate him from those who refused.

I also spoke and offered the post of secretary of state to my erstwhile colleague Aleksandr Paszynski—formerly of POLITYKA—He, too, evaded accepting this post, that of secretary of state in the construction ministry.

[Unidentified reporter] How does the prime minister assess the results of his efforts to form a cabinet with a broader social base, in connection with what we have heard here; and what prospects does the prime minister see for the future as far as this broadening of the base is concerned?

[Rakowski] Yes. Well I, of course, assess this negatively. I would prefer that those to whom I had made proposals were in the government that was today approved by the Sejm. In my opinion their entrance into governmental circles would have quite definitely changed the political situation in Poland. It would have, in fact, created a new situation—a beneficial one for the ideal of national accord. In my opinion if those gentlemen I approached had entered the government then the roundtable would seem much more advantageous and the chances for achieving a compromise would be much greater. I also said in my speech, and here I quote myself, that the doors remain open and that is why I do not feel my efforts should be assessed as being unequivocally negative.

I failed at this stage. I assume, I believe, that I will succeed in the foreseeable future.

[Urban] Editor Lozinski, TRYBUNA LUDU, please wait for the microphone before you ask a question.

[Lozinski] Comrade Prime Minister, in your address yesterday you announced a new style of government action. The person of the prime minister and the new faces in the cabinet create an impression that this announcement is being treated seriously. Thus, how do you, Comrade Prime Minister, plan to combine, in this new style, determination, and actions consistent with openness and broad contacts with the Polish public?

[Rakowski] In my opinion, one does not exclude the other. I think that one must conduct a very consistent policy and continuously make it available for public judgment. It is obvious to me. However, I would like to express my view here on the statement contained in the question that I will probably treat this seriously. I do treat seriously everything I say, particularly what I say from the Sejm rostrum. In my opinion—I return to the main thought behind the question—there exists a possibility to continue this policy, the policy of determination, defined unequivocally by popular needs and expectations, the policy that originated in 1981 when I was deputy prime minister in the government of General Jaruzelski. I pointed out that this was a open-door policy. And it will remain such. I will conduct it with increased energy.

[Urban] Next question please. Please introduce yourself.

[Unidentified Czech journalist] Czechoslovak television. Comrade Prime Minister, in your Sejm speech yesterday you introduced the government. You said that you had

offered four ministerial posts to members of the opposition, constructive opposition. Unfortunately, the opposition did not reply to your proposal. My question is whether the government's attitude to this opposition, as you call it constructive opposition, is not too complacent?

[Rakowski] I do not think so. In my opinion our attitutde to this constructive opposition, to the people who consider themselves constructive opposition or who we regard them as such, is very sensible and takes account of changes that have occurred in Polish society, and changes occurring in the entire socialist community.

Those proposals were not an expression of leniency nor of weakness, but quite simply of a realistic assessment of the situation. And in my opinion one should continue to attempt to achieve the complete victory of realism on all sides.

[Urban] Miss Kay Winters, BALTIMORE SUN

[Winters in English, followed by Polish translation] Mr. Prime Minister, although I work for the US press I am not an American [word indistinct], and hope I can ask this question without being tactless. As [U.S.] Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead said this morning, he's signed a protocol of intent on an aid to Poland Act 1988, out of which the zloty proceeds of the sale of donated commodities will be used for humanitarian assistance projects for the Polish people. But since the Polish authorities have constantly reiterated their desire not for charity but for economic partnership, I wonder why you have agreed to another package to Poland [word indistinct]. Is this what you have in mind when you talked about bigger steps in the Sejm yesterday, and do you forsee a day when both the Polish authorities and the Polish people will reject such aid as something rather painful in a country which is not in the Third World nor the victim of natural disaster?

[Urban] Perhaps I'll explain how I understand the purpose of the question, it is a question as to whether the prime minister is satisfied with the fact that once again there is a plan for charitable aid instead of normal economic relations.

[Rakowski] [Word Indistinct] Not at all. Naturally it is not a question here of parcels. By the way, I don't know the details of the agreement signed and it would be difficult to expect me to be familiarized with these details, since I was busy with something quite different yesterday. However, that is not what I had in mind. I did not have in mind to use the zloty fund as an example of achieving a great step in Polish-U.S. relations. I had in mind other matters, namely a considerable expansion of the conditions of economic and trade cooperation with the United States. I had in mind, above all, the United States taking a positive stance, as that state plays a great role in international organizations—I am thinking of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank—in other words to create incentives for U.S. businessmen and international financiers to undertake concrete steps toward Poland and to listen to our propositions and suggestions, which have nothing in common with beggary, but only with the proposal for economic cooperation based on respect for the equality of each partner. In my opinion, in any case, I know the course of Mr. Whitehead's news conference, and I carefully read the telegram sent to me by U.S. President Ronald Reagan. In my opinion, opportunities are being opened today to accelerate relations, including in the economy.

[Urban] Mr. Zakrzewski, Polish Television news.

[Zakrzewski] You said your government is made up of successful people. Could you give an example of at least one success for each new member of the government.

[Rakowski] Well, above all I would mention myself—that I have achieved success by standing on this podium and speaking to you as a prime minister. But speaking seriously—to take someone at random—the new minister for foreign economic cooperation, Mr. Jastrzebski, who, as director of the Polish lumber agency partnership achieved, over 2 years, a 200-percent rise in exports. This is a concrete example of a successful man, of a man of action. Also among those who have achieved success I number the new minister of industry, Mieczyslaw Wilczek, who is a classic example of a successful man. He achieved success thanks to his brains, thanks to his inventiveness, thanks to his capacity to concentrate on attracting money and helping production.

[Urban] Julian Bartos [words indistinct].

[Bartos] [Words indistinct] about the need for changes in the Polish economic structure. You are also aware of the consequences for the labor market. I wish to ask what set of instruments the goverment is preparing to cope with certain social consequences that could involve tens if not hundreds of thousands of people in those economic fields which must undergo structural change. What concrete solutions are being envisaged? Will this be a (?heavy) burden? Is there going to be a new fund, a new foundation? Is a tax from employees and employers envisaged? In a word, since we are speaking of the market, of those matters which concern the market economy, this also [words indistinct] to certain Western solutions that regulate the labor market.

[Rakowski] I stated quite plainly in my speech yesterday to the Sejm that the government, the state, and society, will shield those who are not able to give more of themselves. On the other hand, we will strive to ensure that all those who can give more of themselves have the proper conditions to do so. That is my first point. My second is that I also said, or rather I asked the House and the public, if they are ready to accept a situation in which people have to seek work and not the other way around. Well, I believe that Poland does not face the threat of mass unemployment, since there are tens of thousands of jobs which need to be filled. Here I am thinking not of

supplementing existing work crews—though in Lodz, for example, many factories are working with just one shift because there are not enough people for a second shift—I am thinking of a great area, probably neglected in our country, that is the area of services. Well, of course it will be unpleasant for many people if they have to move from the places in which they are currently working or to which they travel in order to work. Quite simply, they will have to learn a new profession, and so on.

In these matters, of course, as far as creating, for example, conditions in which people can retrain, it is clear that the state cannot remain indifferent and decide that it is not its concern. In this matter we will be active. However, I fully support the situation that would allow many people, who may curently be considered as part of the so-called administrative overgrowth or overgrowth in factories, to move into those areas of the national economy that must be developed to ensure that people can really live better in Poland.

[Urban] Next question please, but please introduce yourself.

[Name indistinct] from Voice of America. Prime Minister, I would like to ask about the progress of the preparations for the forthcoming roundtable talks. What does your government expect from these talks?

[Rakowski] Concrete preparations are still underway and I have not taken part in them directly recently. In general, I did not personally take part in them. I would like to take this opportunity to poke fun at a commentary that was published in some newspaper, I do not remember which, that we are dealing with an interesting situation here: The roundtable is being prepared and Prime Minister Rakowski is standing aside. It suggested that no one knows what I think, whether I am in favor of the roundtable or not. Someone even wrote that perhaps some contradictions exist between General Kiszczak and myself. Well, fantasy is not uncommon in the profession in which I used to work. I would like to say that I am a member of the party leadership and the roundtable concept was born within the party leadership. Naturally, I took part in this and there is no question of contradictions or standing on the sidelines. That is my first comment. The second one concerns preparations. There is no doubt that it is difficult to [word indistinct] sit down at this roundtable because its partners have different opinions all the time on the subject. But I think it will take place. Third comment—What do I expect?

According to me, in Poland today, conditions for alleviation [zlagodzena] in various sides of the prejudices, dislikes, or anger that grew out of events of 1981 and 1982—such emotions and the views of both partners—are becoming a thing of the past. Looking objectively at the development of the situation in Poland in the last few years, today the ground for reaching agreement, and in this I include a compromise, is much deeper and more fertile than it was a few years ago. I am asking those who are assessing the situation in Poland today return to the past, not the distant one of, say, 8 years ago, but the past of 2 or 3 years ago or 1 year ago. The situation in Poland, the political situation, is changing favorably and, in my conviction, very rapidly. That is why, in spite of various gloomy forecasts and various wailings, I think that, step by step, we are moving toward, really, the creation, of not the ideal one, of course, but of a realistic front of national agreement.

I await, quite calmly, the debates and their results. I am altogether against getting agitated about the roundtable. When the meeting begins we will see how the first round goes, what stances come to light, what views. Today there is quite a flurry, and too much being published about this.

[Urban] [passage indistinct]

[Unidentified reporter] Mr Chairman, Prime Minister, this is the VETO weekly. I wish to ask whether market matters ought to be closer to the priority tasks of the new government. First, because they have great influence on social moods. Second, quality of life depends directly on market supplies.

[Rakowski] Sir, I do not remember which writer wrote that Poles are less interested in a roundtable; they are more interested in a well-spread table. If we are to talk about the distribution of labor in the state there is no doubt that the government which, as of today, I lead must concentrate precisely on this table being better provided for. That means that all matters pertaining to the market must be close to the center of government attention, and I will not betray any secrets if I say that I will now, first and foremost, concern myself with this table, and, within the distribution of labor, my colleagues will concern themselves with the roundtable.

[Urban] Dag Halvorsen [ARBEIDERBLADET of Norway].

[Halvorsen in Polish] Does the government intend to speed up work on the law on associations and does the prime minister see, in this context, a part for associations of a lay and social-democratic character?

[Rakowski] Well, work on the preparation of this law on associations is very advanced. I believe my friend Jerzy Urban has already given information to journalists on this matter. In, if I remember correctly, his press conferences of the last 2 months, which I always read very carefully. As to the question of whether I see, after the passing of the law on associations, a role, a place for lay and social-democratic organizations—well what can I say? (?Perhaps) I can quote from a poem by Heine: Oh God, how large is your zoological garden!

In Poland there are already many various kinds of associations—they are partly for drawing-room discussions. Some are very interesting from the point of view of

the aims they set themselves, and I presume that when this law is passed we will have a bouquet of the most varied organizations, of which probably, some will, after a time, fade away, since often the setting up of an organization will be enough to satisfy some people's ambitions. Isn't that so? Probably a valuable part will remain. Whether there will also be a social-democratic group among them—well, as far as I know—[words indistinct] it is possible that such an organization might be created. I leave this to the future. But I would like to add that these organizations being created today are also in the center of the government's attention. We wish, quite simply, to remain in contact with those organizations which are announcing serious and beneficial aims, beneficial to society. We wish to reach them and to listen to their opinions.

[Urban] A lady from Polish Radio. Please forgive me for forgetting your name.

[Unidentified reporter] [name indistinct] Prime Minister, did the people who refused give you reasons for doing so? Do they not wish to bear any responsibility, do they definitely not wish to hold any important post in our country? Could you comment on this?

[Rakowski] I suppose that the main reason was the following: It is too early for us to take advantage of this proposal since the roundtable has yet to take place and so we will wait. I believe that this was the main reason, though I do not commend this type of thinking nor do I agree with it. For I believe, and I have already said this and wish to say it again, that it would be far more sensible to enter the government and, as Deputy Wojna so rightly said today, to enter and act from within.

Naturally not as a Trojan Horse but change the political map of the country from the center, change Polish reality. And does the unwilliness to take part in joint governing and joint responsibility also play a role? I admit that one of the people I talked to, a Catholic activist, said: Don't count too much on your offers being accepted, because, as far as I know, some of my friends would rather stand on the sidelines and criticize which, after all, is something we do quite generally in Poland, and not only circles of people who are in those milieux I approached.

[Urban] Miss Alma Kazan from Egypt.

[Kazan in English, followed by Polish translation] Could Mr. Prime Minister say what is really stopping the government from organizing the roundtable, generally what is really stopping the organization of the roundtable now, tomorrow, the day after tomorrow. We have been told many times that the roundtable will take place sometime in the middle of the month. Could one [word indistinct] that the government is quite simply using the idea of the roundtable as a carrot and thereby trying to excite the people and opposition?

[Rakowski] I didn't hear [word indistinct].

[Urban] She was saying, she was asking, if perhaps it has not been especially (?delayed) to excite public opinion as a kind of carrot for the donkey.

[Rakowski] No, I don't think it is some kind of game on our part. There are no reasons for playing any kind of games nor seemingly for drawing out or diverting public attention from other more important matters. No, it has nothing to do with that at all. We came forward with the idea to hold a roundtable as a result of a very serious analysis of the developing political and social situation in Poland. There is no tactic here; it is, I would say a reflection of a strategic thought aimed at a real broadening of the participation of forces in the formation, of active participation in the formation of that Poland which ought to be created in the coming years. I'll repeat once again it is something, I would say understandable, that the agreement of its composition, of the roundtable, of those smaller tables, and about how it is going to run takes up a considerable amount of time. After all, the people from our side taking part in the organization of that table are not occupied exclusively with the table. They also have several matters on their hands, namely they participate in state management.

[Urban] Editor [given name indistinct] Kazimierska, ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

[Kazimierska] [given name indistinct] Kazimierska, KURIER POLSKI.

[Urban] Oh, I'm sorry.

[Kazimierska] I wanted to ask whether Mr. Prime Minister used the results of research carried out by Colonel Kwiatkowski [not further identified] when deciding who would participate in the government?

[Rakowski] In general I do use the results of research that Col Kwiatkowski regularly leaves on my desk, but, I think that some persons approached by me to take part in the government have not yet been included by this research.

[Name indistinct] Television Australia. Mr Rakowski, your predecessor said his cabinet was sacrificed as a scapegoat in a difficult moment [words indistinct] economic reform must dominate over political reasons?

[Rakowski] I did not hear such an expression from my predecessor, rather the press commented, as I remember, that it was a scapegoat, mainly Western press. As regards whether my government succeeds, I would like to say that one cannot say my predecessor left this building as a man who did not achieve any success in those difficult years during which he led the Polish Government [words indistinct]. Can my government succeed, and how? I think it is possible to take certain steps that can promise success. Of course they are not in line with expectations

because we have a realistic view of the economic and socioeconomic situation. And Poland has an enormous debt. You know about all these issues. But I believe that steps can be taken in Poland, decisions can be made that will change or improve the situation. There is a proverb that faith can move mountains. I do not believe in miracles but I believe that the cumulative effect of the will and the energy of people selected by me, the people I count on, I have in mind active persons from among the public, I have in mind my supporters, with their assistance, I think we have a chance to achieve success.

[Name indistinct] Polish INTERPRESS agency. This morning the deputy secretary of state who held talks with you, Mr Prime Minister, quoted your as saying that Polish-U.S. relations can move and develop at a faster rate. Do you think that there is a chance for such longer-range steps in the political sphere?

[Rakowski] This depends most of all, I think, on the United States. That is my first comment. Secondly, I wish to state that it was with great satisfaction that I received the statement by Mr Whitehead that such large steps can be taken. I do not know yet the details of the press conference, but from what I received here, a summary by PAP, I must state that Mr Whitehead's answers, or his statement, I do not know in what form he made his remarks, are very satisfying.

[Bobinski] Krzysztof Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES. Mr Prime Minister, are there opportunities for your government to cut the defense budget [words indistinct]?

[Rakowski] It is difficult for me to tell if we are going to make cuts in the defense budget but I can say that I have very good relations with General Siwicki, the minister of defense, and we talked [words indistinct] Army help in gaining for the government greater resources, or better use of the resources that the Army has at its disposal, for peaceful purposes.

The point is not, therefore, budget cuts because our Army is very thrifty anyway. The point is to use the resources that the Armed Forces have, I have made an appointment to see Gen Siwicki next week to discuss more specific matters. I would like to add that the Polish Army, the soldiers, give a lot of assistance to the national economy, they really make a large economic contribution. Anyway, I think there are chances here to make better use of the Armed Forces current capacities.

[Unidentified reporter] [name indistinct] PAP. Mr Prime Minister, in reference to the past well known slogan, The party directs and the government governs—you said yesterday that you would propose a new relationship between the government and the party. Could you please comment on this? The second concerns you as a publicist...

[Urban] Can we have the questions one at a time please?

[Rakowski] It is difficult for me to deliver a lecture on this subject. I have an established view on this, I expressed it in my publications. I am totally in agreement with the first secretary and his speech during the previous Sejm session. I cannot repeat it exactly but the thought was that the party would not be an umbrella for the government .

[Urban] It will be a political insurance policy.

[Rakowski] Right, the political insurance policy. My view is that these relations should be formed in such a way. I, still being a Politburo member, a member of the party leadership, I am obligated by the Politburo to report how I and the PZPR Ministers implement the social and economic goals mapped out by my party. No doubt it is also my duty to take into consideration the party's attitude on matters of economic and social policy. But this, of course, does not mean that these relations will be characterized by a daily issuing of instructions. Apart from this, I must point out that the government is made up of a three-party coalition and I personally decide how to shape relations so I hear the wishes of this coalition and how to account to this coalition for my actions.

I add also that that full independence of the government is realized, quite simply, every day. In any case I would like to say that the ministers I proposed, I chose on my own initiative as the head of government.

[Urban] The second question.

[Unidentified reporter] Yes, definitely the last. As a publicist and politician you have been particularly interested in the German problem, Mr. prime minister. Yesterday you announced readiness for progress, I quote, quite simply a breakthrough in relations with the FRG. Do you think that kind of aim will find a resonance on the Rhine, where, at least as I see it, a wait and see policy is most apparent in relations with Poland.

[Rakowski] I am waiting for that response.

[Urban] Mr Marqueritte from France.

[Marqueritte] I also have two questions and a few words of introduction. You appealed yesterday to those publicists whom you have known for a long time for goodwill. I think that it can already be stated that goodwill (?although critical) has been assured, particularly on the part of those who consider that if the attempts by Mr. Gorbachev, the Polish Government, and the Hungarian Government fail there will be very bad times ahead for those countries and likewise for East-West relations. Now the first question. In the past your problem was, I think, that you wanted to satisfy your opponents more than admit your adherents were right. For example, it appeared that you wanted to convince some apparatus people who were not particularly enlightened that you

are not the [word indistinct] as painted by others. I think that the key to the success of your government will be Rakowski, to let you be yourself. Can we hope for this?

[Rakowski] I would like to thank you for the declaration of goodwill colored, naturally, by criticism. After all, I don't expect my one time colleagues, journalists, to write about me now exclusively and unusually positively. That is now what it's about. I need goodwill, I count on it, and at the same time expect the criticism to be concrete and based on facts. I will always seriously study that kind of criticism and draw conclusions from it. On the other hand, if it is a question of your demand to make some kind of admission of faith here or draw my own portrait, well I'll only say that it isn't true that I ever wanted to satisfy my critics or opponents. I have quite simply, please remember, been a PZPR member for 40 years. It is my party and I have many times addressed and will address members of my party, the aktiv. Perhaps you are thinking of my speech in Jelenia Gora last spring. I remember that speech, in which I addressed the party aktiv, party people. It was said that Rakowski is flirting with the hard heads, however that is defined, in the party apparatus. That's not true. I don't flirt. If I addressed someone there, I spoke about the fact that the party must believe in itself, that it must be active; that's how I see my party and its needs. Apart from that, Mr. Margueritte, you know well that every politician is loved and hated as two extremes. I have determined opponents and I don't intend to flirt with them as I won't convince them. I also have devoted adherents, whom I thank for being with me. I have always tried to be Rakowski and I will be, but you are an old [word indistinct] I have known you for many years, and you know well that politics also has its rights, its strategy, its tactics, its current needs. But I would like to say that for certain reasons it is even dogma because for decades I have been expressing the same opinions. For example, I spoke yesterday about the fact that the government must give maximum freedom to the individual, I thought to myself that I wrote that in my book. "The Polish Number One Problem," which was published in 1971. I precisely postulated that. In other words, I have stuck to one dogma for 18 years.

[Marqueritte] As if on the margin of what you said, a certain thought comes to my mind. Really it would have been better if you became prime minister 18 years ago so the country could have avoided many unpleasant events. [passage indistinct] The second question concerns the accord. This has been spoken about for a very long time, and now is only mentioned [words indistinct]. I think that the ideas of accord are overvalued. It is essential, yes, but the table will not be fuller if accord exists. I find it difficult to see how you can agree, for instance, with Mr Kuron, [Solidarity adviser] that there will be a lot of understanding or area for legal activity by the opposition (?as you suggested). Secondly, the consensus would be a good thing [words indistinct] But what is most important is the actions of your government and its ways of convincing people that something new is really beginning, that the government is capable of acting and will gain the support from society.

[Rakowski] Thank you very much. The first part is your own evaluation of the situation, and as you know we always value your analyses as they are based on good knowledge of Polish reailty. On the other hand, regarding the government's activity—I agree that the main issue is to supply society with proof that this government can do something to accelerate the economic reform process, above all, and that this economic reform process must bring concrete results. This proof must not take the shape of resolutions and regulations but simply the form of material effects, measurable ones. And it is obvious that this is the first and utmost commandment for our government. An awful lot can be said about democracy, about understanding and accord, but every person evaluates the effects of a government's policy by what he has in his pocket and what can be found in the shops. This is an obvious truth and I must observe it, even though I am not an economist, and some of the journalists keep reminding me of that. They remind me that I used to be a journalist, but are doing it in a negative sense.

[Unidentified reporter] [name indistinct] From GLOS SZCZECINSKI. Mr Prime Minister, there has been anxiety in our north western corner of Poland for many years with the threat to Polish sovereignty. I have in mind the Pomeranian Bay. This anxiety is being voiced by the church, by the Bishop of Szczecin, and by the Szczecin authorities, but journalists are not allowed to write about it. Will the open door also apply to this part of our international relations?

[Rakowski] The talks on this issue are in progress and that is why their progress, the consultations and the attempts to achieve agreement, were not reported. This is how it is in diplomacy and politics; there are issues which for their own good should not be revealed at a given time. That is why I have not yet dealt in detail with this issue but I think when the time comes we will inform you about it.

[Unidentified reporter in English, followed by Polish translation] [Name indistinct] NEW YORK TIMES. Mr Prime Minister, in your address to the Sejm yesterday in connection with the roundtable, you addressed yourself to a group of people who were described in your speech as the ultras and you warned them against wanting to dismantle socialism by installments. Your own government, you said in your address yesterday, raises the possibility of things like bankruptcies, liquidation of unprofitable companies—you said that profit would become the fundamental index under the new government. There also has been talk of such measures as broadening the private sphere, introducing stocks and bonds and a securities exchange. My question is: Are you dismantling socialism? And, if not, what is the socialism you're talking about when you accuse others of attempting to dismantle it by installments?

[Rakowski] I understand that you have not asked this question out of concern for maintaining socialism in Poland. I don't know whether this is the time or the place

to list the principles of socialism. What should modern socialism look like? Anyway, the changes that are taking place within the framework of the socialist economy in no case mean the dismantling of socialism. They mean making economics [ekonomika] more realistic and based on economic laws, which function objectively. What I said yesterday is not some kind of a discovery as this was said by my predecessors. The process of making economic policy realistic has been going on for years in Poland. This also applies to the principles on which the economy is based. As for this warning I stated, it was directed at the people, and there are such people in Poland who are not concerned with improving socialism, refreshing it, but who want to substitute socialism with the system. It is difficult to say whether they want a fully capitalist system, or half capitalist. But the point is that with the ideas of capitalism or socialism there are connected certain definite contents. It is enough to open any book on political economics, or on systems in general, to know what the differences are. I do not intend to start reading such a book here.

[Urban] [word indistinct] Mr Czarnicki from the television.

[Czarnicki] If you permit, Mr Premier, [word indistinct] the question dealing with the political religious problem. Will the weakness of the state or the strength of religion force a new state-church alliance and push the role of believers to the fore. We know that that is a false dilemma and that's why I am allowing myself to present it. The second question: The growth in the political activity of Catholic groups and the growth in the mediatory role of the Catholic Church is causing concern as to whether a reversion of church-state thinking will take place. What are the guarantees of avoiding such a reversion?

[Rakowski] Yes. I don't think there is such a danger. I return to what I said yesterday: In Poland we are creating historical compromises; we are jointly creating the coexistence of Catholics and Marxists, the coexistence (?of a secular) state directed by laymen with the Catholic Church on the basis of the recognition by our side that religion and the the forms of expressing religious feelings, and the places where it is practiced, form an objective reality in our political system. Religion is after all a permanent phenomenon in the history of humanity and secular states recognize this and avoid in their daily policy creating circles with which they could come into conflict with it. In other words, we are proposing coexistance on the basis of those principles which I would say the civilized world recognizes. As I see it, we demand from the other side—demand is a bad word, rather I would say we expect the other side—to recognize socialism as a formation which exists in reality and seek its permanent place in this existing socialism.

It is my conviction that such a process is taking place in the Catholic Church in Poland. I recall in the years following the Second World War, the great conflicts that occured between for example my party and the Catholic Church, the great degree to which the sides were antagonistic to each other, and the extent to which many people from the Catholic camp did not recognize socialism as the existing formation.

Today the situation is completely different and that is why I consider the cooperation of the church and state within this framework—(?we always define our framework). That is why we are also preparing legal acts. That cooperation will certainly be advantageous for the whole nation. I do not think that Poland will be able to get to such a situation that one side is going to want to destroy the other side or that something like a church-state alliance, as you said, will be created. It depends in any case on what matters the alliance would function. If they are matters concerning the interests of the nation, the maintenance of the state, civic behavior, the attainment of aims that are common to the nation, to believers and nonbelievers, I consider that that alliance is necessary—I even would like it.

[Urban] The lady from Yugoslavia, (?have you a question)? [Words indistinct] editor Broniatowski.

[Broniatowski] Mr Premier, Editor Margueritte talked about a certain... about a large amount of [word indistinct] (?friendly feeling) on the part of journalists, [words indistinct] friendly feeling on the part of the whole of society. You spoke yesterday about the many priorities, maybe fewer [words indistinct] priorities than ever before, but in any case about the most important matters. I would like to ask about one: What do you intend, [words indistinct], what do you intend to do at the beginning, so as to (?build) a bridgehead, so to speak, so as to obtain public approval, the consent you were asking about? Perhaps I may say half in jest and half in earnest, maybe by doing away with the (?duty) on cars and maybe by immediately increasing the bank interest rates and maybe passports to be kept at home [words indistinct].

[Rakowski] I would lose at the starting point if I were to answer your question and pull out of my pocket what I have there. Of course, we are preparing certain steps and certain measures, which are supposed from the start to give some benefits to us, to the government; but I will not reval them yet today.

[Urban] RZECZPOSPOLITA, please.

[Reporter] Krzysztof Bien from RZECZPOSPOLITA. Mr Premier, in the Sejm yesterday, you spoke about the vital need to move on from words to deeds. In view of this, do you intend to make use of the special powers given to the Council of Ministers in May of this year or ask for their extension for a further period?

[Rakowski] I will definitely not ask for those powers to be extended and I don't think I will have to resort to them. They arose in a different political or sociopolitical situation. In my opinion, the government that I have

formed must act without special powers, in the awareness that it bears an enormous responsibility for every step it takes. I would add to this that I tried to construct this government in such a way as to be a government of convinced reformers.

[Urban] [name indistinct] to speak.

[Reporter] The Panorama team of editors. Mr Premier, one can surmise from your expose that the restructuring of industry is the most difficult task for the new government. Can you be more specific about the plans for large, unprofitable enterprises and even whole branches of industry?

[Rakowski] Not today. It would be pretentious of me to present today the plans or projects for liquidating this or that enterprise. In any case, this is an economic process but it also has its social and political aspects and the restructuring plans exist for this. They were even the object of criticism in the Sejm today, for being too hard to decipher, too general. And please remember that the government is only getting down to work today. I wasn't able in the past 2 weeks to ready all the plans in detail, because that would show great arrogance. But it is obvious, and the press has written about it many times as well as many economists and economic activists, that restructuring has to take place. I recall saying yesterday that consistent implementation of the economic policy, emerging from the basic principles defined by the content and nature of the economic reform, will be a painful process for some people, and even for the workforce.

[Urban] The gentleman from the FRG, please.

[Reporter] [first name indistinct] Dietrich from the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG. Mr Premier, the Central Committee secretary, Mr Baka, announced last week that the government would spend $250 million on immediate consumer purposes. Is this announcement binding on the government and where will the $250 million come from?

[Rakowski] Not out of the air. We have foreign trade. There is foreign turnover. We have a balance of trade, after all. But as regards the means earmarked up to now, as I understood (?for food?)...

[Unidentified voice from hall, interrupting] (?I mean) the additional means being spent at the moment on holding up the market.

[Rakowski] Well, the assets being spent on holding up the market—but please don't think that those assets purchase only some kind of ...[Rakowski changes thought] are spent on intervention buying of food, because some of the assets were spent on buying machinery and equipment needed by the agricultural industry, (?for) after their installation in an enterprise, production of the goods needed on the market increases.

[Urban] Mr Palestynski, please.

[Palestynski] Mr Premier, I would like to add to the question from Mr (Broniatowski) and ask: For 8 years now, society has been waiting for something new. In view of this, what does the government expect of society [words indistinct]?

[Rakowski] I can say, firstly, that from all the talks and consultations I have had, and also from the letters coming in to the Council of Ministers, it emerges that above all society expects efficient and firm action on the part of the government. That's the first wish. Secondly, the demand is for the government to be strong, that is to say, for it to have a definite authority—legal and executive authority. On the other hand, I have met with [words indistinct] during those numerous conversations and meetings, and from the (?telegrams) and letters I have already mentioned, it emerges that my interlocutors and the senders of letters assess the situation in Poland very realistically and do not ask for miracles. They don't demand a sudden change in the situation. They do not expect it just because the government has changed. However, I answered Mr (Broniatowski) in that way, because...well, it is understandable that we want the Council of Ministers which has been formed to start off with certain specific measures, but I don't want to divulge them here in this hall today, for, as I have said, I would lose some points that I've only just won.

[Unidentified reporter] Mr Premier, we are beginning to gather around the editorial board young people who purposely don't want to go to work in the West, who declare: I'm not going away. What are your first words to them?

[Rakowski] That I welcome this kind of initiative and I am profoundly convinced, really profoundly convinced, that Poland does not have to be a country of bad prospects; and that I believe in them, in those young people, and that I would like them to support me in all those decisions that they, too, acknowledge to be sensible and necessary for society and for them. I think that opportunities exist in Poland. One of my newly appointed ministers once said to me: There is money lying in the streets in Poland, you just have to know how to pick it up. That is to say, you have to know how...what to do to get that money. Besides, I am firmly opposed to the view that nothing good can be done in Poland and that it is best to assume the attitude of a martyr or that of a loser. Sometimes some of my fellow countrymen assume such an attitude without even trying to do anything good. So, I wish them simply to believe in the (?result). I'll help them.

[Urban] Mrs Renate Marsch of DPA.

[Marsch] (?My question is): Did you have anything specific in mind when you suggested yesterday to the Federal Republic's Government, that it was not necessary to put off to tomorrow or the day after tomorrow what we can do today. What does this mean?

[Rakowski] Yes, I had specific matters in mind, and they certainly know well in Bonn what was meant. Madam, certain working groups are, after all, in operation. They were set up during the last visit by Minister Genscher to Poland. There are, as far as I remember, three working groups, which are supposed to draw up a package of matters to discuss and present proposals concerning our relations with the FRG. Well, this is taking quite a long time. But it is not for me here to lay the responsibility or blame on the government in Bonn. That is not what I had in mind at all and I have no such intentions.

However, I think that there could be a very considerable intensification of our relations and (?of) the actions that were undertaken to compile a catalogue of those matters and to find a joint standpoint. Well, in saying this yesterday, I stressed the weight of Polish-German relations—and not for the first time. Secondly, there was a certain hidden idea there, namely, a sort of objection to the attitude one meets in the West in some politicians, an attitude of: Well, let's see what happens in Poland; let's wait, for you never know what will happen. I met with such a commentary, in the FRG in fact, that: Let's wait and see what the Rakowski government will propose in the way of a sociopolitical economic program, in the way of what it wants to do. [Words indistinct] there will appear the statement: Let's wait and see what comes of it [word indistinct], for that way one can wait for a very long time, for years.

I am convinced that if there are opportunities, in connection with changes taking place in the international situation, (?if) there are opportunities for a considerably quicker rapprochement of states and nations, regardless of differences between the blocs that arose in the cold war period, [word indistinct] I think that there is the prospect of overcoming those divisions. I'm not talking here in a slogan-like, propaganda sense or [words indistinct]—I think that we have (?entered into such transformations) in Europe and the world and that all those divisions that exist can be overcome. And in this thinking I also include the issue of relations between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany.

[Urban] Yes, go ahead.

[Reporter] [name indistinct] of INTERPRESS. I would like to ask how the premier sees the situation and role, the new role, of the Planning Commission attached to the Council of Ministers?

[Rakowski] [Word indistinct] announced yesterday that we would be presenting a proposal to the Sejm for a change in the Planning Act. We will do that, probably, within a month. I simply see the vital need to make, I would say, a change of model, consisting in replacing the Planning Commission by a central planning office, (?placed over) the whole structure of managing and steering the national economy. This is not an idea I have thought up while-you-wait. Many economists and experts on the subject have been demanding this type of change for a long time.

[Urban] Editor Stefanski of NOWE DROGI.

[Stefanski] You have said, Mr Premier, that Poland does not have to be a country of bad prospects. How, in the creation of those good prospects, do you see cooperation with the Soviet Union and with the CEMA countries in general?

[Rakowski] For me, cooperation with the Soviet Union is a key issue and takes first place. I don't have to explain why. I think that the relations linking Poland and the Soviet Union since 1944 are the greatest achievement of the Polish radical left, to which I belonged and belong; but that has a historical dimension now. However, at present, thanks to the changes taking place in the Soviet Union, thanks to perestroika, thanks to Gorbachev, opportunities have opened up for a considerable enrichment of those relations and I will, as premier, do everything to utilize this opportunity to the fullest.

Regarding cooperation between the CEMA countries, I can only declare Poland's interest in speeding up the processes of integration, although I know that, here, these processes cannot be speeded up in an artificial way and that the current state of cooperation with CEMA does not satisfy any of the participants. But, as practice shows, qualitative changes in this cooperation—I have in mind mainly integration—take place not only as people want them, but also as a result of the situation that exists objectively, the objective reality, which has its own laws.

[Urban] Yes, go ahead.

[Reporter] Jerzy Nowakowski of TYGODNIK POLSKI. Mr Premier, all of us here are talking about the prospects and the program for the future. I'd like, in view of this, to ask that when you talk about the role of initiative, what do the prospects look like for the intelligentsia, which can't always display that initiative.

[Rakowski] Oh, they can, they can, can't they, especially if they are journalists. Seriously, I didn't devote in my speech yesterday... [Rakowski changes thought] I didn't write the speech according to the traditional pattern, that I have to talk about the intelligentsia, about the miners, about the doctors. Anyway, (?in practice,) when I was writing the speech, various offices sent me notes for me to talk about this and that. I wanted to depart from this traditional way of writing such speeches and government statements. Also in view of this, for instance, there is hardly anything in that declaration about people in science, in culture, and how much I am counting on them. It is obvious that it is hard to imagine any kind of correct policy beneficial to the state which did not take into account the intelligentsia, their role, and the creative milieux.

In short one can say that all possible resources at the government's disposal should be used for the improvement of the material status of Polish intelligentsia, particularly teachers and health workers, but also other professions. Naturally, this means resources which are at the government's disposal, because it does not have all, only those which can be sensibly shared. In any case for me it will be a great joy if the intelligentsia in Poland support me. On the whole they hold opinions that influence the average citizen's attitude to the authorities, and since the problem of having maximum trust is the most important issue for every government, I am counting very much on the Polish intelligentsia. I hope that they will help me overcome pessimism, disbelief, and evasion of public responsibility. In my opinion the time has come to wake up in some circles. I am not against criticism, and I will also listen to it attentively. Life has taught me to appreciate other points of view and critical remarks, but one would like to be supported by a certain outlook on issues undertaken by the government. On my own I will not be able to do anything.

[Urban] Please, go ahead.

[Reporter] [Passage indistinct] Mr Strougal, who spoke in similar way in Czechoslovakia, has been relieved of his post, while in Hungary Mr Grosz, who spoke like you, Mr Premier, is now the first secretary. How do you see your future in Poland?

[Urban] The gentleman says that the same was said by those who have failed and by those who succeeded; how do you see your future? I can be certain of the precision of the question.

[Rakowski] As far as Premier Strougal is concerned, well the fact that he departed is a Czechoslovak decision, not mine; I cannot comment on this topic. The Czechoslovak party considered that those changes should be made; this is their business. I did not study in detail the speeches made by Premier Strougal so it is difficult for me to judge what he said.

The activity of Premier Grosz I have been following for some time. This is a new man as premier and as first secretary; I greatly admire his way of thinking and seeing Hungarian problems, and I have friendly relations with Hungarian comrades. I always found great support there for my views and attitudes and it is time now to reciprocate. What I read concerning the outlooks of comrades from the Hungarian leadership are close to mine. My future depends on what facts I am able to create while premier. One thing is certain: If I do not kick the bucket, as they say in Poland, then I also will have to retire eventually.

[Urban] Editor Marek Kassa, and this is probably the next to last question. Editor Marek Kassa, Polish Radio.

[Kassa] Mr Premier, I'd like to ask whether you accepted the proposal of taking up the post of premier without reflection and willingly?

[Rakowski] No. I thought it over and it was not easy. It's not a decision one makes without profound reflection. I realize that it is a decision that will determine the rest of my life.

[Reporter, in French] Sylvie Costain of LE MONDE. (?Yesterday) [word indistinct] there was nothing in your speech, you didn't speak about the problem of trade union pluralism. (?Is it a possibility in Poland in the future)?

[Translator] You mentioned trade union pluralism yesterday. Could you say whether you see this as a reality for Poland [word indistinct]?

[Urban] Please repeat the translation.

[Translator, repeating] Yesterday, you talked about trade union pluralism. Can one say that you see this as a phenomenon, as a reality in Poland in the future?

[Rakowski] I... well, I don't know; I probably didn't say in my speech...

[Reporter interrupting, in French] Yesterday [words indistinct] you didn't mention the problem of trade union pluralism in your speech in parliament. Do you think trade union pluralism is a possibility in Poland [word indistinct]?

[Translator] [Words indistinct] about trade union pluralism. Do you think that at the present moment trade union pluralism is something that can be accepted in Poland?

[Rakowski] It depends how one understands that pluralism, how he understands it.

[Urban] Well, perhaps I will allow the last question.

[Rakowski] Yes, all right, [words indistinct].

[Reporter, in English] [Words indistinct] two brief questions: One is, if you can give us an exact date of the beginning of the roundtable discussion?

[Rakowski] No. I don't know.

[Reporter, in English] The second question is with regard to the statement you made yesterday that you consider it important for all people who are going to participate in the roundtable discussion to come to the table with a total understanding of the Polish realities. Some people in the opposition who are going to take part in those discussions say that one part of that Polish reality is the

strong aspiration for (?true) democracy in Poland and that Solidarity is one indication of that aspiration. What's your reaction to that interpretation?

[Rakowski] I do not boil democratization down to the recognition of Solidarity. I don't think that the existence or the restoration of Solidarity can be the only proof that our country is being democratized. In my opinion, the democratization processes, which are being implemented in Poland and which have been taking place for several years now, are speeding up at present and all this is taking place without the existence of Solidarity. I would like to add, too, that if, for instance, you count up all we have done over the past few years regarding democratization and compare it with what was once imagined in 1981, then we have gone considerably further forward—much further than anybody imagined. I would add that I didn't imagine [word indistinct] either.

[Urban] Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for the interesting questions. Thank you for coming. I assure you that the government building is (?a forum) for all of you (?and will be so).

Rakowski Speaks on Torun Economic Conference

LD1510195788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] The organizational crisis makes the realization of the economic reform more difficult, and blocks speedier democratization of sociopolitical life: That is the dominating thought in a discussion at the third organizational congress in Torun. Economic scientists and practitioners state that Polish organizational and management science is not adequately exploited in economic practice. Taking part in the proceedings is Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. This is what he said:

[Begin recording] [Rakowski] Ladies and gentlemen. Above all, I would like to thank you cordially for a very pleasant reception. It may transpire from this that we find a common language, today, tomorrow, and the day after. In a meeting with the directors I said that I would willingly come to the congress, because I have in this my own interest; namely, I would like the leading cadre, the cadre which operates in management systems, to be that part of Polish society which will support all the rational measures of the government, which I now head, since yesterday. [end recording]

[Unidentified correspondent] Wise and, above all, effective management is being discussed at the congress. In your expose, you spoke of direct, logical and, in fact, effective solutions. I understand that the problems discussed here are dear to you.

[Rakowski] Well, of course. If they were not dear, if I didn't attach any significance precisely to this milieu and to the things which concern this milieu, that is, precisely the things you mentioned, then I would not have come, because there are innumerable congresses in Poland: I am even afraid that someone will soon tell me that Rakowski travels too much in Poland.

[Correspondent] Do you agree with the opinion that human wisdom and good management, are very often more important than, for example, raw material resources?

[Rakowski] I think that we possess this sole reserve, which is never exhausted and is constantly repeated, namely that which is in the human head. The problem rests on creating such conditions—and the government is responsible for this—so as to exploit these reserves in a way advantageous to society and the state. [end recording]

Polonian Businessmen's Forum Held

Rakowski Attends

LD1510141188 Warsaw PAP in English 1338 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Poznan, Oct. 15—A two-day annual meeting of foreign-based businessmen of Polish descent started here today. More than 200 members of Polonian business and trade circles from all over the world are attending.

The aim of the meeting is to add momentum to cooperation between the Polonian communities and Poland.

Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski has arrived at the forum.

Cites Need for Capital

LD1510215388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Prime Minister Mieczyslav Rakowski had a busy day today. This morning he visited Poznan to take part in the Polonian Economic Forum.

This year's Polonian Economic Forum is the 14th meeting organized by the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade and the Society for Contacts with Poles Living Abroad—Polonia. A record number of participants from abroad arrived for this year's forum: 216 people. Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski took part in the opening of the proceedings.

[Begin Rakowski recording] I have come here to show my interest and the interest of the government in greater activity and greater presence of this capital in Poland. Of course, this capital is not sufficient to save Poland, but the point is that every brick in the building we are constructing—I mean here the economy which is being reformed—is extremely important. [end recording]

While staying in Poznan the prime minister visited the Marcin Kasprzak Printing Enterprise. Acquainting himself with the manufacturing process, the prime minister talked also to the employees:

[Begin recording] [Rakowski] How much are you earning now?

[Unidentified employee] About 40-50,000.

[Rakowski] Including bonuses?

[Employee] No, because one does not always get a bonus. It depends on the results the enterprise achieves.

[Rakowski] Does you wife work or not?

[Employee] No, my wife is a pensioner.

[Rakowski] How high is her pension?

[Employee] Fifteen thousand six hundred zloties.

[Rakowski] On average you get 60,000?

[Employee] Yes, and I have two children...

[Unidentified reporter] Prime Minister, this is the first working day of the government headed by you, and it is your first visit. Will these unannounced visits be a constant element of your and your government's work?

[Rakowski] Yes, one gets to know people and their problems. I simply need this to know, for example, what a certain work enterprise looks like, how the conditions are there.

[Reporter] Has today's visit contributed something to extend your knowledge?

[Rakowski] Of course. I have met a wonderful director, for example. [end recording]

Rakowski Meets Christian Association Leaders

LD0810094988 Warsaw PAP in English 2111 GMT 7 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 7—Chairman of the Council of Ministers Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received representatives of the leadership of the Christian Social Association (CHSS) with its Chairman Kazimierz Morawski today.

The premier briefed his guests on the procedure of forming the new government and its main targets. Discussed was also participation of non-party members, including Christians, in state life at all levels.

Rakowski Meets With Pax Association Chairman

LD1210225988 Warsaw PAP in English 2050 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] WArsaw, Oct. 12—Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met the Chairman of the "PAX" Catholic Association, Zenon Komender, and members of the Association's authorities here today.

The prime minister informed his interlocutors about the procedure of forming the new government and its main intentions in the cause of reforming Poland's social, political, and economic life.

Rakowski Talks With PRON Leadership

AU1210202488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Oct 88 p 2

[PAP report: "The Premier's Meeting With the PRON Leadership"]

[Text] On 6 October, Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met with PRON Chairman Jan Dobraczynski and members of the PRON Executive Committee.

Said the premier: I have asked for this meeting in order to give a briefing on the process of forming the new government so far and on the problems that the new cabinet is going to face.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski reaffirmed his intention of proposing to the Sejm a coalition government with a broader political cross-section than before.

There is a very high degree of interest in the new government. This is illustrated by the telegrams and letters that the premier is receiving.

There is a longing for effective, consistent rule, said M. Rakowski. And I will speak to the Sejm about it.

The premier outlined the program which he will present at the next Sejm session. On 13 October, Sejm deputies and the public at large will also receive an extensive report on the state of the nation and on what the new government is taking over.

The PRON Executive Committee members presented their views on the government program. What is needed, they said, is a change of philosophy by the authorities, consistent elimination of bureaucratic barriers, and determination in converting old economic structures into an economy capable of progress, innovation, and scientific development.

They also spoke of the need to establish clear prospects for young people and the intelligentsia.

Premier Rakowski also received a PRON report on the state of agriculture and on feeding the nation. The report suggested that particular attention should be paid to this important economic sector.

Careers of New Cabinet Members Profiled

LD1410121088 Warsaw PAP in English
2350 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 13—Following are the profiles of new cabinet members. The profiles of eleven persons were presented when they were appointed government members.

Kazimierz Olesiak, 51, doctor of (agricultural) sciences, member of the United Peasant Party (ZSL) Central Committee and Presidium. Author of books and articles on food economy and agricultural policy published by Polish and foreign magazines. Deputy to the Polish Sejm (parliament), head of the Sejm Argicultural, Forestry and Food Economy Committee.

Janusz Patorski, 42, graduated from the Warsaw Technical University. Secretary of the PUWP Warsaw Committee since 1984. Author of numerous publications on political aspects of organization and management and different forms of economic education. Member of the party-government Commission for Review and Modernization of the Economy and State Organizational Structures.

Lukasz Balcer, 53, lawyer, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Environmental and Natural Resources Protection since 1986. Democratic Party (SD) activist. Gdansk vice-voivode since 1982. Many-year activist of the Union of Polish Lawyers, member of its main board for two years. Deputy to the 8th Sejm, actively involved in work of many Sejm committees.

Jacek Fisiak, 52, rector of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan. Former president of the European Linguistic Society and the International Association of University Professors of English Studies. Co-editor of numerous linguistic periodicals in the world, editor-in-chief of three such magazines. Member of the Central Qualification Commission for Scientific Cadres at the Chairman of the Council of Ministers in the years 1976-1988.

Zbigniew Grabowski, 58, rector of the Warsaw Technical University. Author of numerous scientific works and publications, designer of projects applied in many fields of the national economy. Member of the committee for science and technical progress at the Council of Ministers, and of the college of the National Education Ministry. Highly respected for his competence in setting up teams preparing new technical projects and their practical application. Member of the PUWP Warsaw Committee Executive, and of the Consultative Council at the President of the Council of State.

Dominik Jastrzebski, 46, engineer, chief director of the Polish Timber Products Company in London in the years 1977-1983, highly efficient manager (since 1986) of the Paged company. PUWP member.

Marcin Nurowski, 54, Warsaw University Graduate, managerial posts in the Democratic Party (SD) Central Committee since 1977, in 1981 department vice-director and undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Internal Trade and Services where he worked till 1987.

Izabela Planeta-Malecka, associate professor of medicines, vice-director for pediatrics at the hospital-center of Polish Mother Health in Lodz. Member of the Executive Committee and National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) and deputy chairman of the PRON Health Commission. Vice-president of the Lodz section of the Polish Women's League. Independent.

Mieczyslaw Wilczek, 56, engineer, also master of laws. Having worked for state industry for 16 years, he decided to independently fulfil his technological and organizational aspirations. Author or co-author of twenty Polish and foreign patents in chemistry and fodders. Co-owner of the "Lavil" enterprise with share of foreign capital. He declared immediate withdrawal from direct economic activity the moment his candidature is accepted by the Sejm. Member of the socio-economic council at the Sejm, deputy chairman of the society for supporting economic initiatives. PUWP member.

Andrzej Wroblewski, 38, graduated from the Main School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw. Since 1981 adviser to the government plenipotentiary for economic reform. Author of the financial system of industrial enterprises and of the tax system. Managerial post in the Government Planning Commission since 1985, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Industry since last November.

Transcript of Urban's 10 Oct News Conference

AU1410151188 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 11 Oct 88 pp 1, 7

[Transcript of press conference by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 10 October]

[Text] At his weekly press conference at the INTERPRESS Center on 10 October, Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban answered questions. Here is the transcript:

Urban: Students in some colleges have announced a demonstration for today. I do not know how big it will be, but the national authorities firmly disapprove of it. We consider student demonstrations to be excesses which illustrate the bad intentions of their organizers and the political immaturity of their participants.

The demonstrations are almost on the eve of the Sejm session, at which Premier Rakowski is to propose a new government and government program. Society attaches considerable hopes to this government. This government is a major chance for the country. It is necessary to

facilitate its work to overcome the crisis, not hamper it from the very start. By demonstrating today, the students are demonstrating merely for the fun of it.

These demonstrations are also occurring shortly before the roundtable. Therefore, they constitute adventurism directed against national accord. In fact, they are an attempt to torpedo the roundtable, and a show of arrogance toward all its participants.

The demonstrations are occurring after the authorities have announced a program of democratizing the life of colleges, a program for the development of student self-management and an expansion of college autonomy, an amendment to the law on education, and an increase in the number of student associations. They are occurring after decisions have been made to increase student grants, in other words, after a major increase in the size of funds enabling students to study.

The organizers of the demonstrations did not even wait for the student community to discuss demands. All they are doing is undertaking anarchical activity.

I do not think this is anything but the hampering of the process of national accord in general and the roundtable in particular. It is an attempt to discredit the policy of expanding liberties and democratic reforms by making it look as if the reform merely increases people's courage to demonstrate.

The organizers are showing society that they are extremists, devoid of intelligence and common sense, and opposed to social expectations of accord, calm, and successful reforms. The antistate nature of some of their deeds is illustrated by their picketing of lectures on military knowledge at Warsaw University.

Students have not started to attend regular classes yet, and already there is talk of striking. Those in favor of such ideas are in for a surprise. Experience tell us that through loud radicalism one can lose more than one gains.

I am authorized to explain a party document that has allegedly been issued by the chancellery of the PZPR Central Committee first secretary, and about which Western stations and agencies have made a lot of noise.

Suggestions by Western press agencies, repeated by radio stations, about secret telex messages sent to factory PZPR secretaries are absurd, because in Poland nothing which is so widely publicized can be kept a secret.

The Central Committee stance on Solidarity, with which the authorities will commence the roundtable, is completely open. It was drafted at the eighth plenum and published in the press. It says that in the present economically difficult period, it would be disadvantageous to society, the economy, and the reform if changes were to take place in the trade union movement that lead to divisions, political rivalry, and an escalation of demands in workplaces.

On the other hand, one must search for a new model of the trade union movement.

The search for a compromise during the roundtable with the participation of trade union aktivists will commence within these clear but flexible limits.

PAP has said that no such party document was issued by the first secretary's chancellery to discuss the PZPR stance toward Solidarity—the document to which Western agencies and radio stations referred. However, the following day it was established that what the Western sources had referred to was a telex message sent from a Central Committee cell to a party lecturer in the field. This message was not issued by the first secretary's chancellery. It was issued by the chancellery of a voivodship first secretary.

On the whole, the telex message contained correct formulations reflecting the views of the party—with one exception. One part of this message expressed party intentions incorrectly. It used the word "engulfing," which is not a correct way to describe new elections to some factory trade union leaderships in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the workers.

Henryk Sroczynski, GLOS ROBOTNICZY: Referring to your answer to my question last week, what are the final results of Premier Rakowski's talks on expanding the government coalition?

Urban: The expansion of the government coalition is encountering difficulties, but your question is premature. These talks are still continuing. The premier will present their results in the Sejm tomorrow, so please could you be patient a little longer. According to REUTER, Premier Rakowski said that he would "publicly condemn non-communist activists who have refused his offer to join the government." That is not true. The premier never said it.

Renate Marsch, DPA: Is it true that this telex message says that party factory committees have to tell the prosecutor's office and Central Committee about the formation of any Solidarity factory cell?

Urban: I do not have this message, but I consider it probable that such a significant political event in factories would be reported to the Central Committee.

Evelina Maitret, Mexican TV: My question is purely a technical one. How will the public be informed about the roundtable talks? Will they be closed talks, or will journalists and the public be allowed access to them?

Urban: This is still being discussed.

Kay Withers, BALTIMORE SUN: I have two questions. First, will you give a press conference next week?

Urban: I suppose so.

Kay Withers: Second, could you give us a list of the people taking part in the roundtable?

Urban: I cannot. There is no such list; it is still being drawn up.

Renate Marsch: Last Friday, on their holiday, militiamen were engaged in dispersing a student rally in Warsaw. Why was militia intervention so strong this time, compared to previous occasions? Is it really a breach of public order when young people shout: "Young people are with the party; Dzerzhinskiy is our idol"? Even if this is an ironic thing to say, how many were detained because of this?

Urban: As far as I know, Dzerzhinskiy was not offended, but perhaps the militia's energy was generated by the location of this event, in front of Warsaw City Hall.

Henryk Sroczynski, GLOS ROBOTNICZY: Many communities are talking of an excessive dependence on political centers. Will the Rakowski government aim toward greater independence and sovereignty?

Urban: The question of relations between the party leadership and government is nothing new. In his report to the seventh plenum in June, W. Jaruzelski said that it is anachronistic for the party to define petty tasks for state bodies. The party will not do the work of the government, he said.

When nominating Mieczyslaw Rakowski for premier at the last Sejm session, Wojciech Jaruzelski said that the party cannot issue the government with a kind of "insurance policy." Further on, he said that the party would influence socioeconomic strategy, assess the government's work, and impose requirements, but Poland needs a strong government.

The Sejm criticized the old practice of seeking party support for every government move. However, Premier Rakowski said that he wants to reinforce and enhance the coalition.

Judging by these announcements, one can expect that daily relations between the government and party leadership will shape themselves in complete harmony with the concept contained in the seventh plenum report.

You are right to use the term "greater government independence," though nowhere in the world is a government independent of the party that forms its majority. Instead of increasing the party's leading role, petty controls over activity outside the party diminish it, because they make the party leadership jointly responsible for the suggestions and decisions of the state administrative apparatus.

The party is expounding the principle of legally-formulated separate responsibilities of state structures and their independence of action. Within the framework of the constitutional mechanisms, the party is exerting an influence on these structures by means of its members in the Sejm and government, but it is not assuming responsibility for the correctness of individual decisions.

Dag Halvorsen, ARBEIDERBLADET of Norway: When will the composition of the new government be known? Will there be a special press conference afterwards? You said there would be one this week.

Urban: I do not know the schedule of the Sejm session on Thursday, but I assume it will be held in the morning. There will be no special press conference, because we assume that journalists who are interested in the session will attend it. However, the premier will hold a press conference at the Office of the Council of Ministers on Friday, and you are all invited to it.

Ben Scotland, Radio Polonia: Could you tell us what sort of associations have been registered in Poland recently?

Urban: I read in today's papers a report about a Society of Friends of [the Ukrainian city] Lvov. Over 20 different kinds of associations were registered in August and September. They include the Council of Authors, Producers, and Distributors of Audio-Visual Programs; National Association of Work Veterans; International Society of Esperanto-Speaking Miners, Catholic Intelligentsia Clubs in Pila and Gdansk; the Lublin "Reconciliation" Christian Society; Society of Friends of the Lazienki Palace; Polish "Time and Recreation" Society; and "Young Poland" Academic Union. Applications are also being considered to register the following: The Warsaw University Academic League, Belorussian Students Association, Society of Friends of the University of Silesia, Penitentiary Association, Educational Associations of Wroclaw and Malopolska, Association of Siberians [probably former Siberian camp inmates], and a society called the "Academy of Sexology" [seksuologicznej]. However, the Economic Societies of Warsaw and Wielkopolska have still not been registered, even though I have been discussing this matter with optimism for a long time. Registration of these societies is hampered by the fact that they intend to indulge in commercial activity. This is against the present law on associations. Therefore, there is a legal barrier to their registration. A political club has also been registered.

[Zbigniew] Satala, GAZETA KRAKOWSKA: The Messner government collapsed because it could not cope with economic tasks. However, it was in the process of implementing the economic reform. In Premier Rakowski's latest meetings, there was not much to be

heard about the reform. Some people say that the less state interference there is, the better for the economy. Have the provisions of the economic reform collapsed together with the government?

Urban: Of course not. On the contrary, the new government will implement the reform with greater consistency. The fact that not much has been heard about the reform is perhaps not a bad thing, because a lot has been heard about the reform but too little about its results. However, relations between the party and the central authorities or between the party and the economy are an exhaustive and complex subject. Although the reform program calls for a constant increase in the independence of economic bodies, that does not mean that the role of the state in the economy is disappearing. By means of such instruments as financial policy, planning, taxation, and foreign trade policy, the state will pursue an economic policy and back the reform, which cannot develop without state support. In any case,the state will not abandon the economic sphere, as some oppositionists say it should. That is irrational. In no country is the economy independent of state policy.

Franco Guintano, ANSA: Will the [U.S.] deputy secretary of state, who is arriving tomorrow, visit Gdansk first?

Urban: I do not know. I see no mention of such a trip in the state program of the visit.

Patricia Koza, UPI: The roundtable is still scheduled to begin in the middle of October, in other words it is a few days away. Could you give the exact date, or the date planned by the government?

Urban: I cannot give the exact date yet. We hope it will start more or less in mid-October.

Renate Marsch, DPA: You said that the formation of a coalition government is encountering obstacles. Could you tell us what sort of obstacles?

Urban: Premier Rakowski will speak about this in the Sejm the day after tomorrow.

Patricia Koza: Your reply suggests a lack of certainty that the roundtable will start in mid-October. You said we hope it will start then. Does that mean that there are problems?

Urban: Various matters connected with the roundtable are still being settled.

Paula Butturini, CHICAGO TRIBUNE: Has a new date for Mrs Thatcher's visit to Poland been established?

Urban: Talks on this subject are continuing. A new date has been received from London, but I still cannot confirm it.

Kay Withers, BALTIMORE SUN: I have heard from the opposition, but also from the party, that the roundtable will start on 17 October. Do you think it will?

Urban: I can neither confirm nor deny it. A concrete date has simply not been established yet. Your information is always more timely than mine, but not always more accurate.

Renate Marsch: Why did Dr Geremek [of Solidarity] not obtain a passport in order to promote his book at the Frankfurt Book Fair?

Urban: I know nothing about that.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: Who is going to talk to whom at the roundtable, and about what? What will the authorities have to say to the miners at the miners talks in Katowice?

Urban: At the roundtable, representatives of various forces, organizations, and orientations in Poland will talk to each other. The very expression "roundtable" signifies a broad cross-section of the most varied orientations, as well as various organizations representing various sections of society. The subject of the talks will be political reforms in Poland, a future structure of the state system, economic reform matters, and matters concerning the trade union movement. Presumably, there will also be teams dealing with individual topics. The number of these topics is still being agreed on, so we do not know yet.

Paula Butturini, CHICAGO TRIBUNE: Is the government refusing participation in the roundtable to anyone, or can anyone who has been nominated by a milieu as a roundtable representative of that milieu take part in it?

Urban: The roundtable is convening at the invitation of General Czeslaw Kiszczak, chairman of the Council of Ministers Committee for Observing the Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline, on the basis of his statement that was published in the press on 27 August, which said:

"I am dictating no conditions as to the subject of the talks or their participants. However, I do rule out participation by people who reject the legal and constitutional order of the PPR." Thus, the criteria governing the talks have been presented.

Finalizing the composition of the talks requires a preliminary agreement on this subject. Thus, the roundtable is a question of multilateral agreement, while adhering to the criteria of General Kiszczak as the person who has issued the invitation to the talks.

The composition is being determined by various organizations, structures, forces, and groups proposing their representatives, after which the long list of participants is discussed and narrowed down. After all, the roundtable

only has limited capacity, and some groups are nominating too many representatives. As a result, they are required to reduce the number of representatives.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: I must admit I constantly feel a lack of concrete information in your replies. You talk of various forces and structures all the time, but who exactly do you mean?

Urban: The composition of the roundtable will be revealed when it has been established. I can tell you facts, but I cannot forestall them. Talks on the subject of the composition are still taking place.

Renate Marsch, DPA: Let me try a different approach. We know that Solidarity has already nominated its representatives for the roundtable. Is it possible that General Kiszczak will refuse to allow this or that person to take part because the person is against the Constitution?

Urban: I answered that question a short while ago.

Ceausescu Pays Official Visit to PRC

Meets Yang Shankun

AU1410192188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 14 OCT 88

[Text] Beijing (AGERPRES) 14/10/1988—Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu met and conducted talks with the president of the People's Republic of China, Yang Shangkun, in the Hebei Hall of the Palace of the National People's Congress in Beijing on Friday, 14 October.

Attending were first deputy prime minister Ion Dinca, Ioan Totu, foreign affairs minister, other officials.

Present were Tian Jiyun, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, vice-premier of the State Council, Xi Zhongxun, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Zou Jiahua, state councillor, minister of machine-building and electronics industry, Qian Zhengying, vice-chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Qian Qichen, foreign affairs minister, executives of ministries and central bodies.

On that occasion too, President Yang Shangkun, most warmly welcomed the official friendly visit President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu are paying to the People's Republic of China and stressed the particular importance of top-level dialogue for the continuous growth of bilateral relations.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the invitation to visit the People's Republic of China, for the warm reception and hospitality extended to them since their arrival. At the same time, the confidence was expressed that the understandings to be reached on the occasion would mark a new stage in the further strengthening of the cooperation between Romania and the PR of China.

During the interview emphasis was placed on the upward course of the Romanian-Chinese ties, lastingly set on mutual esteem and regard, on the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs. The belief was expressed that, by joint efforts, the Romanian-Chinese friendly links and cooperation would develop continuously in all areas—political, economic, technical, scientific, cultural, a.o. —in the interest of the two countries and peoples, of the cause of socialism, peace and progress worldwide.

The interview passed in a warm atmosphere of mutual esteem and understanding.

Toasts Yang Shangkun

AU1410200988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 14 Oct 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Toast" at banquet given in his honor by PRC President Yang Shangkun, in Beijing, 14 October]

[Text] Beijing (AGERPRES) 14/10/1988—The visit we are paying to the People's Republic of China falls along the line of the upward course of the fine Romanian-Chinese bonds of friendship and cooperation established as early as the years of the fight our parties and peoples waged against oppression, for the victory of socialist revolution, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania said in his speech at the official dinner given in his honour in Beijing on 14 October. Broad links of cooperation in the political, economic, technical, scientific and other areas of joint interest as well as in the international arena have developed between the two parties and countries through common efforts in the years of socialist construction, the speaker went on. We have firmly set these relations on the noble principles of socialism, of full equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage, he stressed, and one may say that is what made the Romanian-Chinese friendship and cooperation resist and develop, even under more difficult circumstances, face any storm, like a strong oak, and grow ever more powerfully to the sun, be ever more productive for the benefit of both countries and peoples. I am convinced that this visit as well will go down as another important moment in the development of these traditional relations, in consensus with the interests of progress and welfare of both peoples, of the general cause of socialism and peace in the world, Nicolae Ceausescu said showing that the RCP, the Romanian people were highly appreciative of the great achievements scored by the Chinese people in the years of socialism, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, of the sustained efforts they make to overcome any obstacles in their advance to welfare and progress, to turn China into a modern prosperous and powerful socialist country. We are also appreciative of the important (?role) of the People's Republic of China in the international life, in the fight for peace and cooperation, the speaker added.

Showing that in the years of socialist construction—more particularly after the ninth party congress—Romania has scored outstanding achievements in its economic and social development, in the building of the new system, Nicolae Ceausescu said: We have started from the fact that socialism is built in conditions that differ from country to country, that there are no models and patterns that can be copied mechanically—and have firmly applied the general laws and principles of socialism to the specific conditions in Romania. In that spirit we have paid special attention to developing and modernizing the forces of production, to continuously strengthening socialist property—as a lasting foundation of the people's welfare—to setting up a comprehensive

system of revolutionary worker democracy bodies which provide for a broad participation of all social categories, of the entire nation in the management of society, in the translation into fact of the fundamental principles of building socialism by the people and for the people.

Approaching aspects of the current international situation which he considered as very complex and contradictory, Nicolae Ceausescu said inter alia: Steps were made in the direction of disarmament, of the peaceful settlement of conflicts. But despite all this, no resolute change has been made towards renouncing arming, interference in the domestic affairs of states, the use and threat of force.

In consideration of these circumstances, Romania is of the opinion that a new thinking and a new international political order are required which should start from the need to do everything possible to remove the danger of another world war, resolutely pass on to nuclear and conventional disarmament, to safeguard the foremost right of individuals, of peoples to peace, life, to a free, independent and sovereign development, without any outside interference.

Romania works to build up confidence and strengthen cooperation among the states of the European continent, for a Europe united in the diversity of social systems, a Europe of peace and cooperation. We work for the successful conclusion of the Vienna conference, for the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace, cooperation and good neighbourliness, free from nuclear and chemical weapons, without foreign miliary bases.

We are consistently for the resolution of all litigious issues—in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, or Indochina—by political means, through negotiations exclusively. At the same time, we think that efforts should be stepped up to see underdevelopment-related questions—that of the developing countries' very high foreign debt included, establish a new world economic order set on relations of full equality and equity among states.

Although the present world issues are complex and grave, we are convinced that, by working in concert, the peoples, the progressive, anti-imperialist forces everywhere can bring about a new, democratic policy in the international life, a policy of disarmament, independence, cooperation and peace.

In this spirit, the RCP, the Socialist Republic of Romania are resolved to broadly cooperate, in future too, with the Chinese Communist Party, with the People's Republic of China in the international arena. We will also develop our cooperation with all the socialist countries, with the developing countries, with all the states of the world in the fight for the ever more powerful assertion of the peace and cooperation policy, for the building of a better and more just world, President Nicolae Ceausescu said in concluding his toast expressing the belief that the current visit was another important moment in the development of the Romanian-Chinese cooperation, both bilaterally and internationally.

Talks With Zhao Ziyang

AU1510165788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1614 GMT 15 Oct 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu Meet and Talk With CC of CCP General Secretary Zhao Ziyang"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Beijing AGERPRES 15/10/1988—RCP General Secretary, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu met and conducted talks with the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Zhao Ziyang, in the morning of 15 October.

The interview and talks were attended for Romania by: Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister; Ioan Totu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs; and other officials;

For People's China by: Hu Qili, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the CCP; Zou Jiahua, state councillor, minister of the machine-building industry and electronics; and by other officials.

On behalf of the Chinese Communist Party's leadership, of all the Chinese Communists and people, and on his own behalf, the Chinese party leader warmly welcomed President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu, and expressed his conviction that their visit would confer new dimensions on the cooperation on multiple planes between the two parties, countries and peoples.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and conveyed, on behalf of the Romanian Communist Party and on his own behalf, warm greetings to Zhao Ziyang, the Chinese Communist Party leadership, the Chinese Communists and people. It was stressed that the current visit was another telling expression of the fine ties between the RCP and the CCP, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of China, between the two peoples as well as the joint wish to further expand such relations for mutual benefit, for the cause of peace and cooperation worldwide.

During the talk information was exchanged on the preoccupations and activity of the RCP and the CCP, the course of socialist construction in the two countries, and opinions were exchanged on bilateral questions and on matters of mutual interest.

In this context, President Nicolae Ceausescu referred to the activity of the Romanian party and people for the fulfilment of the five-year plan provisions, for the translation into fact of the resolutions set by the 13th congress and the National Conference of the RCP regarding the intensive development of the national economy on the basis of the latest achievements in science and technology, the development and modernization of production, the further improvement of the activity of the revolutionary worker democracy bodies, the achievement of a new quality of work and life of the entire people.

In his turn Zhao Ziyang presented the activity of the Chinese party and people for the attainment of the goals traced by the 13th congress and the recent plenary meeting of the CC of the CCP, for the transformation of China into a democratic, prosperous socialist country with an advanced economy and culture.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Zhao Ziyang pointed with satisfaction to the fine ties between the two parties and peoples which, in the years of socialist construction, have seen steady growth in the spirit of the understandings reached at top level. At the same time, determination was expressed to work for the further consolidation of the links of friendship and collaboration between the RCP and the CCP, for intensified contacts and exchanges of experience between the two parties, the fact being highlighted that that was of special significance for the general development of cooperation between Romania and China, between the two peoples.

During the talks essential aspects of the world political life were also approached, satisfaction being shown at the fact that the two sides had identical or very close positions while assessing or analysing the main international phenomena and trends.

Special attention was given to questions related to the achievement of disarmament, nuclear first and foremost, a peaceful, negotiated settlement of all the conflicts in various parts of the world, the liquidation of underdevelopment and the building of a new world economic order, the establishment of a climate of detente, security, peace, confidence and broad international cooperation.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Zhao Ziyang underscored the important role of the communist and workers parties, of the democratic parties and national liberation movements, the progressive forces everywhere in the fight for a constructive solution, in the peoples' interests, of the complex problems facing mankind, for the building of a better and more just world, free of arms and wars, a world of understanding and peaceful collaboration among peoples.

The meeting and talks passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere of mutual esteem and understanding.

A luncheon was given Saturday, 15 October, by CC of CCP General Secretary Zhao Ziyang in honour of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu.

During the luncheon the atmosphere of which was of warm friendship President Nicolae Ceausescu, Mrs Elena Ceausescu and Zhao Ziyang continued to exchange opinions on questions regarding the development of cooperation between Romania and China both bilaterally and internationally, and conversed most cordially.

Confers With Li Peng

AU1510191788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Beijing (AGERPRES) 15/10/1988—On Saturday, 15 October, Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu had talks with Li Peng, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

The talks were attended for Romania by Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister; Ioan Totu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, foreign affairs minister; other officials.

For the People's Republic of China by Zou Jiahua, state councillor, minister of machine-building and electronics industry; Qian Qichen, foreign affairs minister; other officials.

On behalf of the Chinese Government and of his own, the premier of the State Council most warmly welcomed President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu and underscored the significance of the talks and understandings covenanted at top level which, every time, open new and important prospects for the development of the ties of friendship and many-sided cooperation between Romania and the PR of China.

During the talk, which passed in a friendly, working atmosphere opinions were exchanged on the stage of the implementation of the accords and understandings covenanted in the economic domain, as well as on the possibilities of further expanding those relations.

Satisfaction was expressed at the level reached in developing bilateral links, and it was assessed that the current economic, technical and scientific potential of Romania and the PR of China provided conditions for an intensified cooperation in production, a more active cooperation in the technical, scientific and other areas as well as for growing and diversifying goods exchanges. In that context, stress was laid on the important role of the joint Romanian-Chinese Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation in identifying new

ways and modalities apt to contribute to the expansion of bilateral cooperation, as well as on the significance of concluding long-term accords which should confer perspective and stability to the bonds between Romania and the PR of China.

It was emphasized that the continuous development of cooperation in the economic, technical, scientific and other domains was in the interest and to the benefit of the Romanian and Chinese peoples, of socialist construction in the two countries, of the cause of international peace and cooperation.

Ceausescu Said Desisting From Razing Villages
AU1710095988 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 15-16 Oct 88 p 1

[Andreas Unterberger report: "Ceausescu Renounces Bulldozers; Decay Instead of Destruction of Villages?"]

[Excerpts] Vienna—According to well-informed sources in Vienna, Romania's ruler Ceausescu has given up—under strong international pressure—his plans to destroy 8,000 villages. Without admitting this retreat officially, the organized razing by bulldozers has, however, been replaced by a more long-term strategy, which might, nevertheless, achieve the same goal: There is no money for renovations.

Ceausescu's new policy primarily consists of concentrating state subsidies on communities that are "capable of development," which means, above all, the shapeless new housing blocks of the agroindustrial centers. The maintenance of the villages and houses not considered worthy of subsidies is left to their inhabitants. Since these people do not have any money because of the low Romanian standard of living and the general economic crisis, observers fear that this strategy could also mean the slow death of centuries-old villages.

On the other hand, the village inhabitants have gained a certain respite. It is absolutely possible that many old villages will survive the frequently predicted end of Ceausescu's era in the near future and that Ceausescu's successor will recognize their cultural value. [passage omitted]

The toning down of Ceausescu's village-destruction policy does, however, not go hand in hand with greater tolerance toward the minorities. The party chief still considers them only "sons and daughters of one and the same people." In a few weeks there will be a concrete test for the treatment of minorities: Will Romania again, as widely feared, refuse to accept relief packages sent before Christmas?

Purpose, Importance of 17th LCY Plenum Analyzed

TANJUG Previews Tasks

LD1610130688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1115 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Oct (TANJUG)—The long-awaited 17th LCY Central Committee session is to begin in Belgrade tomorrow morning. There is great interest in the country in this meeting, especially in the discussion to be held on item No 1 on the agenda—the immediate tasks and activities of the LCY to overcome the unfavorable economic, political, and social situation in the country—the introductory report on which will be submitted by Dr Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

There are three additional items on the agenda tomorrow at the Sava Center. The LCY Central Committee members will be given a draft decision to set up a commission for the transformation of the LCY—a body which would concern itself with reforming the party and with making it capable of acting in the present-day conditions.

A separate discussion at the 17th session, which also holds great interest for the public, will be held on cadre renewal in the LCY Central Committee and in its Presidium. The proposals by the LCY Central Committee Presidium to implement the stands of the first LCY conference on cadre renewal in these two organs will be discussed.

The LCY Central Committee members at this session will also be given a report by the so-called Hafner Commission. This working group, which is headed by Vinko Hafner, was set up at the 16th LCY Central Committee session to establish the facts and propose possible responsibility measures for the public confrontations between individual members of the Central Committee in connection with the arrival and protest by citizens of Serb and Montenegrin nationality from Kosovo in Novi Sad on this 9 July.

Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, told journalists the other day that the 17th session will be made public in its entirety. However, according to the proposal to be put to the Central Committee, there will be no direct television broadcast, but several special television broadcasts will inform the public about the work of this forum.

If the 17th session does not end its work tomorrow it will be resumed on Tuesday. It is envisaged that immediately upon the completion of this session, the 18th LCY Central Committee session will be held at which an assessment will be made of to what extent the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution are in line with the strategic commitments of the LCY and of the 13th LCY Congress.

Blame Assessed for 'Crisis'

LD1610135188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1225 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 16 (TANJUG)—Never in the past few decades of Socialist Yugoslavia, has so much been expected of one day and one plenum as of tomorrow's 17th session of the Central Committee (CC) of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY).

Contained in these expectations there are the charges of the current crisis, all Yugoslavia's anxieties and hopes that are at the heart and in the mind of every citizen: What is this happening to Yugoslavia and what will be with this country tomorrow.

The 17th session cannot solve all this, but it should mark the beginning of breaking the vicious circle of disputes and divisions, of idleness and hopelessness.

It appears that no other European country but Yugoslavia is marking time. In the last decade, as certain malicious persons say, productivity has been rising only in the "paper production" of forums and in the mint.

How has it happened that Yugoslavia has found itself on the rear amongst the countries in the European Continent. Are the Yugoslav people less industrious and less inventive than others. Or, are Yugoslavia's natural potentials weaker than the others. Or, are others pressing and checking their progress. Nothing of the sort. Yugoslavia is a free and independent country, rich at least as much as many others in Europe, and its people are industrious and skilfull to the extent that they are recognized as such everywhere abroad.

The problem, hence, does not lie in this. Trouble is that we have entangled ourselves in our own home and that we are wandering in a circle whereas others are striding ahead. The responsibility for this is sustained, in the first place, by those who are heading this country, and this means the generations of today's politicians. It is upon their conscience above all that Yugoslavia has found itself in a crisis like this, that the things have gone so far as the future is beginning to be doubted.

It is the crushing fact that the Yugoslavia today, 43 years after peace in Europe and at the threshold of the twenty-first century, are queuing for black bread. This cannot be justified by anything anbd cannot be endured any longer.

Just as crushing is the fact that the world press today writes about a "civil war syndrome in Yugoslavia" and wonders whether "Yugoslavia will survive at all."

Something beyond comprehension has happened. While the surrounding countries in their racing hastily towards the twenty-first century are competing for microchips and super-conductors, we are hostile towards each other as to who had first had his state, whose ethnogenesis is purer, or we are for long year wasting time on details and

minor clashes while time and problems are trampling on ourselves mercilessly. Stuck into some past centuries and in the republican-provincial trenches, we still rummage through the national past and dig over the graves. Whereas others are introducing satellite television, we are felling "somebody else's" fruit-trees, turning down "somebody else's" tombstones, moving out the people from the hearths of their forefathers.

All the diagnoses have been made and are known but no cure is in sight. One thing is, however, clear and obvious—the fact that the climate of contention, of the ekeing out of a bare existence and of mediocrity has not been imposed on Yugoslavia from without or from within its own factories, universities and streets.

The country's highest officials, provincial, republican and federal equally, are primarily and above all responsible for the existing climate in the country. They have not only divided and economically retarded the country but have failed to be imaginative and bold enough to find and chart out for Yugoslav society directions of development which would lead to its integration, prosperity and stability. Instead of embarking on the course of the announced "three reforms", they are still preoccupied with themselves and are even fanning mutual quarrels and disputes to absurd limits.

Yugoslavs are fully aware of the current crisis and have grown solemn as a result of that overwhelming realization, of which those who govern the country must be aware. Are those at the top aware at this hour, when anxiety has moved into every Yugoslav home, that they can go down in history only for having governed at a time of another exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosova, for having incurred a huge foreign debt which generations of Yugoslavs will have to repay and for having brought the country to the brink of despair.

If all the anxieties and expectations and all the messages Yugoslavs have been addressing to their leaderships were to be summed up in one sentence on the eve of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, a session which everybody expects to mark a turning point, the sentence could read: "Comrades, you are taking the final examination at the 17th session, there will be no make-up exams".

It is beyond any doubt that one single party plenum, no matter how decisive and historical it may be, can resolve all problems and conflicts. It is certain, however, that it can and must make a headway and open at least some prospects which would give hope for a better tomorrow and light at the end of the tunnel.

In the years behind us and the one we are in, Yugoslavs have shown that they can endure many hardships, that they are patient in their expectations and dignified in their indignation. Yugoslavs have also shown that the quest of a solution to the existing crisis and the solution, itself, must be based on the further strengthening of socialist democracy and on the country's full independence. Those frameworks of Yugoslavia's strategic and fateful commitments provide enough possibilities and room for a solution to be found and fresh prospects opened.

If the current generations of Yugoslav politicians fail to muster enough strength, wisdom and courage to make the necessary turn, they, themselves, and not the Yugoslavs, will miss their truly last chance.

The chance, however, is the last chance for leaderships, not for Yugoslavia. This country has seen even greater hardships and has withstood even greater trials.

Those who today write or speak about the disintegration of Yugoslavia, its "Lebanonization" and dangers of a civil war, either know a little of Yugoslavia, its history and its people, or they perhaps wish for such an apocalyptic scenario with which they even might have been tricked.

Yugoslavia, with all its troubles and discords, is as sufficiently serious a country as it will survive and weather this crisis, too.

Its seriousness is something that the participants in tomorrow's plenum must be well aware of: The moment is as grave as literally one more day must not be lost in the struggle for the country's future. Those who do not or cannot realize this, would have without delay to leave the political stage.

Tupurkovski on Plenum Aims

LD1610184588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1718 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Summary] Belgrade 16 Oct (TANJUG)—Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, held a news conference in Belgrade's International Press Center today on the eve of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee. Over 100 foreign correspondents accredited to Belgrade and special correspondents sent to cover the session were informed about preparations for this important gathering of Yugoslav Communists.

The majority of questions concerned the responsibility of individual members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Central Committee itself, and to frequent demands made by the public for cadre changes. Tupurkovski said that the LCY Central Committee Presidium has not yet assumed a definitive attitude to this issue. However, he said that there is a strongly favored option to take a secret vote of confidence for each member of the Presidium at tomorrow's session.

Tupurkovski also stressed that the Central Committee is not reneging on its share of responsibility for the worsening economic and social situation in the country. He said that it would be unrealistic to expect those who influenced such a situation to be excepted from being called to account.

All criticism, Tupurkovski stressed, must be well-founded and be part of the democratic process. The Central Committee will take a stand on all criticism and on the members of the leadership subjected to criticism.

Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, informed foreign journalists and special correspondents that a decision on whether the course of the 17th session is to be carried live on television will be made at the start of tomorrow's session by members of the Central Committee.

Commentary Notes 'Crisis'

AU1610203488 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Kosta Krajincanic commentary]

[Text] There are many reasons why the political situation in the country will be discussed by the highest party organ. The problems range from the economy, galloping inflation, tense intranational relations and Kosovo, to the fall in the standard of living and the increasingly difficult social position of workers. One could almost say that at present there is not a single aspect of life in Yugoslavia that is not undergoing a crisis.

This is posing an extremely difficult and responsible task for the actors in the session scheduled for tomorrow, namely that they should decide on activities to remedy the generally unfavorable situation in the country. How feasible is this in the existing, extremely polarized views on our reality, and how to consolidate it? To what extent is it today possible to make the right political moves without somebody objecting due to selfish and individual interests? These questions are of the widest social importance, but the answers are very uncertain.

Preparing themselves for the 17th plenum, the highest republican and provincial organs held their meetings last week. However, as we ourselves saw, these meetings not only did not clarify some things, and did not reconcile the political stands on the essential questions and causes of the crisis, but they instead in fact created additional disagreements and in this way burdened the situation even more heavily. An example of this is the joint session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium in Pristina. At this session were further relativized the problem of Kosovo and the opportunistic avoiding of establishing concrete responsibilities for the situation in Kosovo.

Or, the last LCY Central Committee Presidium session at which the party leadership in Serbia was unfoundedly accused for allegedly not taking part in defending Tito and his work from attacks.

Tomorrow's plenum has recently been preceded by frequent cases of some officials and leadership figures fencing themselves off from the people. Instead of placing themselves at the front of the people, of politically articulating the people's dissatisfaction and protest—if they think that the people have not done this sufficiently themselves—and instead of listening to the people and carrying out their will, they accused the people of being unreasonable, destroying the constitutional order, and pushing the country into an abyss. Some even used force against the people.

Despite all doubts and anxiety, one should expect that such bureaucratized political consciousness will not come to the fore at 17th LCY Central Committee plenum tomorrow.

However, if it does, it is not very likely that the outcome of the plenum will serve the set task, which is to overcome the unfavorable situation in the country. In any case, even if there is not a more reliable forecast, it is at least clear that the worst outcome would be a bureaucratic compromise.

We are talking about the fate of Yugoslavia, and this cannot be solved through interest bargaining, the creation of artificial peace, and without the people's consent.

Continuing its work, the Central Committee will, according to the agenda, make a decision on forming a commission for the transformation of the LCY. After that it will discuss some cadre questions, namely putting into practice the view adopted at the first LCY conference that cadre renewal of the Central Committee and its Presidium should be carried out. It has already been announced that a third of the highest party leadership will be changed. This would be perfectly okay in terms of numbers, but if this renewal is to be conducted according to local tastes and interests, without taking into account the real needs of Yugoslavia as a whole, which is to say, if the fact that the public has already expressed its mistrust in some politicians, then, as commentators have recently noted, this would be a dangerous step backward or at least the maintaining of the status quo.

Finally, the LCY Central Committee will discuss a report by its working group set up to examine the facts and recommend the measures of responsibility regarding public confrontations among some Central Committee members about the visit and protest of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad on this 9 July.

Nowdays, things seem never to stop happening. What seems to have been a hot issue today, is already an anachronism tomorrow. In such circumstances, mobile

and ideologically uniform political leaderships act in time and do not allow events to lead them, but they themselves exert influence on the course and outcome of these events.

The fact that, 3 months after the first solidarity meeting in Novi Sad, this issue is only now being put on the agenda, only demonstrates how anachronistic are the methods of work in the party and how much it really needs transformation.

The Central Committee is denied the right to discuss this, even after such a long time, but we would like to recall that the people have already passed their judgment on this event, on confrontations, and on the responsibility of some individuals.

Many people call the 17th plenum a historic, critical, and crucial plenum. Earlier political meetings were often given the same or similar epithets. This time, however, they are closer to the truth than ever before. After tomorrow's session nothing should remain the same. The responsibility of the Central Committee members is therefore great. Belgrade, the host town, will tomorrow also have a great responsibility. As on all previous occasions, tomorrow Belgrade must create an atmosphere of hospitality, peace, order, and safety, and it must enable the Central Committee to conscientiously and responsibly perform its duties. In this way it will best demonstrate how unfounded and politically damaging are the statements made by some officials who claim that they would not feel personally safe in Belgrade. The citizens of Belgrade tomorrow have a chance to prove otherwise.

17th LCY Plenum Begins 17 Oct in Belgrade

60 LCY Members Ask To Speak

LD1710120688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1127 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—As early as the beginning of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, 60 members, or one-third of the members of this party forum, had registered to take part in the discussion on the first item on the agenda.

The great interest in the discussion on the immediate tasks to overcome the unfavorable political, social, and societal situation in the country is testified to by the statement by Stefan Korosec, who is chairing the session, that several more Central Committee members had intimated their intention of speaking in the debate.

In keeping with the standing orders of the LCY Central Committee, the length of a debate speech is limited to 15 minutes.

Media Coverage Noted

AU1710092488 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Kosta Krajincanic report on the LCY Central Committee session in Belgrade on 17 October]

[Text] Respected listeners, at this moment in the main hall of the New Belgrade Sava Center, Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, is concluding his introductory speech on direct tasks in overcoming the unfavorable economic, political, and social situation in the country. You will be informed about the contents of his introductory speech in our special information program which will be broadcast 1100 [1000 GMT] to approximately 1300.

We now provide you with only a few details about radio and television live coverage of the session. Before moving on to the agenda, Stipe Suvar informed the members of the Central Committee that Yugoslav radio and television had sent a proposal to the LCY Central Committee Presidium that radio and television stations should carry a live relay of the session. However, as Stipe Suvar said, the Presidium was of the opinion that the session, which is in fact open to the public, should not be relayed live in the interest of the peaceful and undisturbed work of the Central Committee, as he put it.

Because no Central Committee member reacted to this proposal, that is, suggested any other solution, and because silence means approval, the Presidium's proposal was tacitly accepted.

Suvar Addresses Opening

LD1710121988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1112 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 17 (TANJUG)—The renewal of socialism means an end to a party state and the beginning of a constitutional system where each authority is subject to democratic limitations and public control, President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency Dr Stipe Suvar stressed in his opening address at the 17th LCY plenum today.

A precondition for this is a reform of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and its separation from the state, Suvar said, specifying that this separation means a strengthening of the LCY and a strengthening of the state, but a weakening of statism which he described as a pact between the state and the party at the expense of the working class. He underscored the necessity of eliminating the political monopoly of the LCY, noting that the objective of socialist self-management is a non-party society.

The chief topic of the 17th plenum, which opened in Belgrade's Sava Centre this morning, is to determine the immediate tasks of the LCY in overcoming the unfavourable economic, political and social situation in the country, on which the plenum will adopt a special document.

People in our country and in the world increasingly frequently wonder whether there are any prospects for socialism in Yugoslavia as a federative community, said Suvar.

He noted that the Central Committee has not convened today in order to contribute even further to these speculations. On the contrary, he said, we have convened in order not only to emphasize that socialism and self-management have a perspective, but also that the LCY is able and ready to lead all progressive forces of Yugoslav society in paving new ways of social development.

The current, very serious crisis in our society is the consequence and sum-total of all previous crisis which is thus rocking the country all the more strongly, he said.

If we want democratic means and unity in the entire country, then we must ensure the victory of the three reforms (of the economy, the political system and the LCY), Suvar said, citing the conclusions of the first LCY conference held last May. This, he warned, is a road completely contrary to the policy of false promises on an easy and painless turnabout.

Suvar described the three reforms as a comprehensive reform and a profound renewal through which Yugoslav socialism will begin to surmount its structural crisis.

The development of socialism in Yugoslav was blocked because the economic reform failed due to an anti-reform alliance between the party and state, Suvar said, because an attempt was made to carry out the reform of the party and leave untouched its more or less monopolistic role in the political system.

Instead of reducing inflation, Yugoslavia's short-term economic policy has so far only fueled it.

Suvar also assessed that the economic reforms here as well as in all socialist countries, failed because the ossified political-bureaucratic structures were losing power and influence was the reason to turn their backs on economic reforms, and thus to the democratization of society.

Suvar Asks TV To Air His 13 Oct Address

LD1510162088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1259 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Zagreb, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has requested Belgrade television to present to the public a full report on what he said at the 13 October LCY Central Committee Presidium session, as well as on remarks which were made in connection with his address at the session. The message which Suvar sent to Ratomir Vico, director general of radio and television, is as follows:

"As for reactions to my speech at the LCY Central Committee Presidium session on 13 October, I request Belgrade television to widely broadcast everything I said, as well as everything said by comrades who made criticisms of my speech, at that session. This was recorded by television, so I see no reason for omitting anything that was said, and for not presenting the public with a full report."

Belgrade TV Refuses Request

AU1510215088 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Excerpt] This evening, Belgrade Television informed Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, that it would serve no purpose to meet his request to broadcast a complete recording of that portion of the session of the (?LCY Central Committee) Presidium which concerned the work and role of Josip Broz Tito.

Stipe Suvar was first informed that this portion of the session had not been recorded in full, and was then told that almost the entire polemics were aired on Channel 2 of Belgrade Television on the same evening. Channel 1 presented the report on the session in a somewhat shorter version which contained the concluding portion of Stipe Suvar's speech in full as well as the reaction by Slobodan Milosevic and Dusan Ckrebic. [passage omitted]

Radio, TV Director's Statement

LD1610101088 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has asked Belgrade television to provide the public with the complete report on what he said during the meeting of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on 13 October, and also the remarks made in connection with this during the same session. [passage omitted]

A rebroadcast of the recorded portion of this polemic would defeat its objective, and a possible reading of the shorthand report would be unsuitable for television as a medium.

In his report, Ratomir Vico, director general of Belgrade radio and television, says:

Allow us, Comrade Suvar, to express our dissatisfaction with the fact that the letter you addressed to us was made available for publication to all Yugoslav information media via TANJUG. In this way the request addressed

to us has been transformed into pressure, which transcends the framework of customary practice, including the practice in the LC and the practice involving the public information media.

Suvar Speech Appears on TV

LD1610232588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2245 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 16 (TANJUG)—Stipe Suvar, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), this evening appeared on Yugoslav television after all, after the Association of Yugoslav TV Centres broadcast integral video footage of his polemic at the session of the LCY Central Committee last Thursday [13 October] on what he called an insufficiently critical relationship towards the defence of Tito's achievements.

Belgrade television, located in the capital of the country and its largest republic, Serbia, yesterday refused to broadcast a tape of the polemics, claiming that it had not been taped in full and that its broadcasting would anyhow be inappropriate.

Top Serbian leaders and a large number of party committees throughout Serbia reacted sharply after LCY head Suvar said that the Serbian party leadership had not reacted to the demands of the Serbian committee for the reviewing of Tito's historic role. They demanded Suvar's responsibility for this remark.

This evening, however, the television station of Novi Sad in the province of Vojvodina, whose leadership was recently replaced under pressure from the Serbian public and mass rallies, suddenly announced that it would broadcast footage from last Thursday's LCY CC debate, which was taped in full by Ljubljana television (of the Republic of Slovenia).

Novi Sad TV hosted today's joint prime-time TV news, transmitted for the Serbo-Croatian-speaking areas of the country every Sunday by a different Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian-speaking TV centre, while on weekdays every centre broadcasts its own news for its own regional viewers.

Serbian party leader Slobodan Milosevic, who has been particularly prominent on the Yugoslav political scene over the past few months, said at the session that Suvar's remark about Serbia's party leadership had been completely inappropriate.

Suvar did not accept this and at the same time pointed out that the Belgrade (Serbian) weekly NIN had just published an interview with one of the co-signers of the demand for the reviewing of Tito's achievements, dissident Ljubomir Tadic.

Observers see the controversies as a show of forces ahead of tomorrow's plenary session of the LCY CC, which the Yugoslav public is awaiting with unprecedented interest as hsitoric and decisive, i.e., as the current leadership's last chance to make a turn-about in the polemics and quarrels and turn towards the settlement of large-scale economic and political problems in the country.

13 Oct LCY Presidium Session Commented Upon

'Attack' on Serbian LC Condemned

LD1410173288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1634 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—At a special session today the Presidium of the Belgrade LC City Committee vigorously condemned some of the statements made during the 13 October session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, assessing them as an attack on and an attempt to discredit the leadership of the Serbian LC due to its alleged irresolution concerning the attacks on Tito and his achievements. In the unanimous evaluation of the members of the Presidium of the Belgrade LC City Committee, in so doing, an attack has been made on the struggle to resolve the current problems on the eve of the 17th session.

The Presidium of the Belgrade LC City Committee made the assessment that the speech yesterday by Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, runs counter to the full and worthwhile fulfillment of the role of the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and that therefore he must be subjected to the assessment of the extent of his personal role in devaluing the policy of the Serbian Communists.

Belgrade LC Censures Part of Debate

LD1410204288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1839 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, October 14 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the City Committee of the League of Communists of Belgrade at today's special session strongly censured a part of the debate in Thursday's [13 October] meeting of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee as an attack on and attempt to compromise the leadership of the League of Communists of Serbia for its alleged reluctance in condemning attacks on Tito and his work.

Members of the leadership of the city party organization unanimously assessed this as a blow to the struggle for resolving topical issues ahead of the 17th plenum of the LCY Central Committee set for Monday.

The Belgrade party Presidency said that yesterday's statement by President of the LCY Central Committee Presidency Stipe Suvar was contrary to full and valid implementation of the role of president of this body and that his personal role in efforts to devaluate the policy of the Communists of Serbia was therefore subject to an appraisal.

Several speakers in today's debate recalled that what amounted to a party referendum was conducted precisely on Tito and Kosovo in the League of Communists of Serbia and the League of Communists organization in the capital last year, starting an avalanche of charges of Serbian Communists as Stalinists and dogmatists.

Precisely for this reason, they warned, the debate at yesterday's session of the LCY Central Committee Presidency cannot be understood otherwise than as a repeated and insulting casting of doubts on the Communists in this region.

The point at issue is not Suvar's right to take stands but the fact that they do not correspond with the truth, members of the city party leadership noted, pointing out that this was done because of different, hidden intentions.

Several speakers described this as a deliberate means by which some want to irritate the people and provoke unrest at this dramatic hour in order to impose a state of emergency and thus preserve their positions, and as the ultimate reason for accounting with the determined political course of the League of Communists of Serbia.

Others were of the opinion that yesterday's attacks were meant to prejudge the conduct of individuals ahead of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee wth the intention of putting on its agenda, instead of a present item, one on the policy of the League of Communists of Serbia leadership and the leadership itself, thus going as far as using Tito as the final reason and immediate cause of accounting with the determined political course of the League of Communists of Serbia.

Belgrade University Group Attacks Suvar Claims

LD1510185288 Belgrde TANJUG in English 1818 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 15 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade University party leadership holds President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Stipe Suvar responsible before Yugoslavia's entire public for introducing ambiguities and inconsistencies in the work of top-level party organs.

The university party organization at today's session dismissed Suvar's claims at a session of the LCY Presidency last Thursday [13 October] that the Serbian leadership's reaction to some attacks in Yugoslavia's largest republic on the late President Josip Broz Tito was not energetic enough.

It was said today that this actually constituted an attempt to undermine efforts to quell the counterrevolution in the province of Kosovo and also to compromise the leadership of Serbia and make its policy an issue at the forthcoming session of the LCY Central Committee.

It was said at the meeting of Communists of Yugoslavia's largest university that Suvar's statements were aimed at compromising the Serbian party leadership and alienating it from the people, as well as at blunting the edge of demands placed before the LCY Central Committee prior to its 17th session on Monday. The session is expected to discuss the counterrevolution in Kosovo and the country's socio-economic crisis.

It was warned at today's meeting that the 17th session is doomed to failure, as well as the leadership which is carrying out the preparations for the plenum in this way.

Attempts to discredit Serbia's leadership were also condemned at today's protest rally in the southern Serbian town of Leskovac, attended by about 200,000 people. It was said at the rally that the intention is primarily to halt the incumbent Serbian leadership in political action which has the support of the people and later to eliminate it.

Sumadija, Morava Criticize Suvar

AU1510175388 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Communists and citizens in the Sumadija and Morava Valley region are expressing dissatisfaction with the lack of conclusion, the manner, the conduct, and the content of the discussion at the joint session of the Presidiums of the LCY Central Committee and of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee in Pristina, and at the speech of Stipe Suvar at the latest session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Zoran Glisovic reports:

The Presidium of the intercommunal conference of the LC of the Sumadija and Morava Valley region expressed its unreserved support for the Serbian LC Central Committee and its leadership in their efforts to break the counterrevolution in Kosovo and to resolve the constitutional crisis. At the same time, all the latest attacks on the Serbian leadership were rejected. As President Stipe Suvar said at the latest session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the Serbian Presidium and the Central Committee did not discuss, or rather condemn, the attacks on Josip Broz Tito's personality and work.

Radojko Jovic, the opening speaker, said in this connection:

[Begin Jovic recording] It is known that the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium was the first in Yugoslavia to react to the attacks on Tito, and that this line of the ideological struggle is pursued incessantly, concretely, and energetically. This struggle is being waged in our community, too, and it must be conducted incessantly, for it is a matter of anti-Communist stands wherever they are uttered, in the Committee for the Protection of the Freedom of Thought and Expression, in a memorandum, at a public gathering, in the press, in books. But obviously,

confusing the issues, as has been resorted to by (?Suvar), is also not acceptable, and therefore one must pose the question of his responsibility. [end recording]

On this occasion, dissatisfaction was also expressed with the lack of the conclusion of the joint session of the Presidiums in Pristina due to the manner in which the discussion was conducted and its content, and because responsibility was watered down, seriousness was reduced, and due to the scope provided for new expectations and the irritation of the public.

Bearing all this in mind, those attending the expanded session of the Presidium of the intercommunal conference of the LC of the Sumadija and Morava Valley region demanded that people in the highest places, including Suvar, be called to account.

Renovica, Siroka Resignation Statements Noted

LD1610223788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2128 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Oct (TANJUG)—This evening Kolj Siroka and Milanko Renovica submitted their resignations.

They did this at this evening's session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium which, in the framework of final preparations for tomorrow's 17th LCY Central Committee session, considered cadre changes in the Central Committee and the Presidium.

It is fitting that, as the eldest among the members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, I should be among the first to make room in it, Siroka noted in his resignation.

Taking as my starting point in the first place the need for cadre renewal in the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and wishing to contribute to the realization of all the stands of the LCY conference, I address myself, in accordance with the LCY Statute, to the LCY Central Committee with the request that it accept my resignation from the membership of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

I have informed the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee about this, as well as its Presidium and the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Milanko Renovica states that the legal conditions for his retirement have been fulfilled, because he has more than 40 years of pensionable service. He wrote in his resignation:

Due to my retirement, it is not possible for me to carry out my present executive-political function, and this was a crucial factor in my decision to take this step.

Recently there have been increasingly frequent criticisms and public censure in the media which put forward unverified, unreasoned, and untrue claims, half-truths and disinformation, as well as insinuations and attacks on my political integrity and human dignity.

This refers mostly to insufficient information concerning apartment exchanges and my holiday villa. In this connection I tried to explain some facts without making any judgment or entering into polemics or comments (BORBA, 2 June 1988). However, some newspapers continue to single me out for criticism and to carry out unscrupulous lies and slanders. I was not able to react again through the public information media but continued to issue facts and the necessary explanations at sessions of appropriate LC organs. Some competent organs reacted to the incomplete and incorrect details which appeared in public.

I am not trying to shun criticism or responsibility. I do not deny and will accept all principled, well-argued, and constructive criticism based on facts and directed either at me or anyone else performing social, political, or other public functions. However, I am unable, and it does not in my view make sense, to respond to tendentious criticism based on one-sided selection and with an easily recognizable aim. Under such circumstances, that style of writing and the alleged criticism is creating an atmosphere in which I am prevented from successfully carrying out my duties as a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The stands of the LCY conference must be used to speed up work in consistently implementing the reform of the economic and political system, and to carry out a democratic transformation of the LCY. Cadre renewal in the LC organs at all levels is a key issue of its transformation. By withdrawing from the membership of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, I wish to make a contribution to this and to enable new cadres to enter the LCY Central Committee Presidium who can contribute to the efforts to strengthen unity and responsibility, and create and consistently implement the LCY's policy in the struggle for emerging from the social and economic crisis.

It is to be understood that with my resignation, which I see as a personal and moral act, I wish in no way to diminish my share of objective and subjective ideopolitical responsibility for implementing the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress and for performing the function of president and member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Renovica stressed.

Siroka Responds to Criticism

AU1610152188 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24-25 Sep 88 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Kolj Siroka, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, by Slavko Curuvija; date and place not given—first three paragraphs are BORBA introduction]

[Excerpts] When I mentioned "treason against the people," I did not mean anybody in particular except

those who have constantly been on the other side, said Kolj Siroka, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in answer to our question about whom he had in mind when he recently mentioned treason and traitors in Urosevac. As the Yugoslav public has been informed, Kolj Siroka said, "there are some people who are prepared to betray us both to the East and to the West, to whoever pays more. I will not mention any names now, but if necessary I will give them where I should give them."

I spoke about our tasks then, Siroka continued, and I mentioned that there are people among us who are "on the other bank." I mentioned the example of the leaflets that were distributed in Pristina, and I spoke about other enemies and opponents of everything that we do. Some of these Albanians staged anti-Yugoslav demonstrations together with the Ustashas the other day. Of course, I also mentioned the Cominformists and others who clashed with the LC after the war. I said that such people also exist now and that we should keep them in mind. I also blamed them for not pushing the differentiation in their ranks to the end, especially in education. It is known that we had great problems there. I also criticized the fact that they did not discuss which Communists attended the secret meeting at Hotel Molika on Sara Mountain and what they did there.

Now I will make a complaint: I spoke at a meeting that concluded at 2 p.m. Sparavalo spoke at a local veterans organization at 1800 recently. Your colleagues were unable to process my speech as they should, although they had plenty of time before their deadline. Sparavalo, on the other hand, appeared in some papers even at a greater length than when he spoke, although he spoke at a time when the first editions of many newspapers were already put to bed.

[Curuvija] Name-calling toward leadership people has become more frequent in the past few weeks. You are often among those named. How do you regard this name-calling and mentioning of your name? Do you feel any personal responsibility for the present situation in Kosovo?

[Siroka] This name-calling contains all sorts of things, including much ignorance and lack of information. Those who directly charged me with alleged facts used many fabricated or untrue points. However, I am not reacting to this. I have taken the stand that I should react only if the question of my responsibility is raised by leaderships or in official places. In that case I would offer credible evidence. As far as these other calls are concerned, I do not think that it is up to me to deny every point.

What shall I say to a person who claims that I am an immigrant? I was born in Prizren and I completed elementary school there. I went to the secondary school in Skopje. I went to Albania twice, as a prisoner, in handcuffs. I was arrested by the Italians and by the quislings. On both occasions I escaped. Almost all the Prizren people know what I am saying. They also know that Communists, primarily Serbs, were hidden and sheltered in my house. This was not so much due to me as to my mother. Shall I take somebody to court for making allegations? Perhaps I should do that. That person says: Because he is an immigrant, he also protects other immigrants, conducts an anti-Yugoslav policy, and is prepared to hire a truck driver to run me over.

[Curuvija] But there are other kinds of accusations. They link your responsibility with the situation in Kosovo after 1981. Can you be responsible for that?

[Siroka] That is another thing. It is a question of judgment and again a question of information. I was not in Kosovo in 1981. I had lived in Belgrade since 1963, and I moved to Kosovo only in 1982. After returning to Kosovo, I have tried to do everything in my power to improve the situation. I have spared not even my health doing so. Everything that has been done in Zubin Potok, Leposavic, and in other places is connected with me. I went to many regions of Serbia to ask for help to keep the Serbs in Kosovo or to make them return. I met with understanding in the republican leadership of Serbia, in regional and communal leaderships, and also in leaderships of some work collectives. Should I now talk about it? Is there any sense in my saying now that I asked and begged Nikola Ljubicic to do something? He then went to his Uzice people and told me that they were prepared to help Titova Mitrovica. They then built a plant in Zubin Potok where Serbs live, as well as a plant in Salja, where Albanians live. Kluz built a plant in Glogovac, and so forth. It has never been my style to talk about such things.

On the other hand, if it was necessary to quarrel with some of my Albanians, I did not hold back, not only in 1981 and 1982, but even much earlier. I could not change what was outside my powers, an objective circumstance, or inertia. I also asked in the LCY Central Committee Presidium how it could be expected that matters should get better in Kosovo when they are not improving all over Yugoslavia. When some people insisted that some cadres should be nominated again, I used my function as president and said: I will not allow that! That will not do!

[Curuvija] It was not said yesterday that Kosovo and the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo are the central political problem in Yugoslavia. It is evident that since 1981 much less has been done to change the Kosovo situation than could or should be done. A great part of the stances and demands of the ninth LCY Central Committee session devoted to Kosovo has not been implemented and nobody has been called to account. The situation in the province in the past few months, and especially after the 16th LCY Central Committee session, has deteriorated in many respects.

Considering that the final result is therefore far below what Yugoslavia could and should be satisfied with, and far from the point where the Kosovo situation will no longer be a factor in its destabilization, Kosovo and the impotence and unreadiness of the Yugoslav policy to more quickly and resolutely settle the situation there have been the reason for mass outpourings of popular discontent in the past few weeks, which sometimes have been controversial and unacceptable. They have been the reason for the more and more frequent and fierce public name-calling and pressure, so that all the available legitimate and legal means should finally be used and the efficiency of the Yugoslav actions be assured.

Among those named at the protest and other meetings, in speeches and in banners, one frequently finds the name of Kolj Siroka, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, a man who for many years has occupied prominent posts in Kosovo and in Yugoslavia. Reproaches that are addressed to him may be divided into two groups: Some "name" him for what he did, or did not do but should have done; others name him because of the poor end result of both provincial and Yugoslav policy and action in Kosovo following the counterrevolution, which means regardless of what he personally had done.

BORBA is convinced, according to the principle of objective responsibility, that all the state and party leaderships of Yugoslavia from top to bottom [po vertikali], and thus also Kolj Siroka, should be among those "named" in the Kosovo situation and the meager results of the efforts to change it so far. Kolj Siroka should not be alone, but should be joined by the names of those who at present are not mentioned either in public or at meetings. This is why BORBA interviewed Kolj Siroka—because Kosovo's daily life and the problem of objective responsibility demand certain political clarifications.

Overture 1968 [subhead]

[Curuvija] In changing the situation in Kosovo from 1981 to date, has everything been done that could and should have been done, or has it been much less, as some people claim? Official assessments are that the situation in the province is deteriorating....

[Siroka] I think that one sometimes loses sight of some things concentrated in the essence of Kosovo and that they are not understood properly. However, disregarding this, something that had occurred earlier in 1968 roared again in 1981 to a lesser extent, with less intensity, and for a shorter duration. In the next 10 years, our nationalist adversaries were analyzing why they had no great success, but our organs were not, neither the political organs nor those specialized for such things. Therefore, those that prepared actions had some 10 years of analyzing behind them, and of course preparations had been made. It is true that some of their ideologists assessed in 1981 that their new action was premature.

In all the things that happened, there was much that was left from the old consciousness of before and during the war, much of the heavy Stalinist views seeping in from Albania. But as I have said, the very difficult situation, especially among young people, also exerted its influence. Some of the young people went so far that they saw no prospects for their existence. All this was joined by those feverish activities, that these young people should be lured with nationalist and separatist, dogmatic, and Stalinist slogans, while political and social work among young people was totally lacking.

We now come to the point of your question: Those who should have resisted all this were nowhere to be seen. The demonstrations in 1968 and 1981 slipped by those people who had the main say in Kosovo politics at that time. They thought of everything but what was happening under their noses. In 1981, the system that the then leaders were building fell apart; they thought that they held everything in their hands, but in fact held nothing. [passage omitted]

[Curuvija] The situation in Kosovo has become critical.

[Siroka] I would not say so. I think it is somewhat different. I do not say that the situation is idyllic. There are many grave issues. It is very difficult when someone in the street, opposite the building of the LC Provincial Committee, tries to set fire to a child. This is horrifying. However, there are many things that are being inflated without ever being confirmed, even after a court determines the truth on specific questions and adopts legal decisions. Among other things, there is much difference between one community and another in Kosovo. Let us take the conduct of the workers class: Where it is present, there are fewer excesses and less nationalism.

[Curuvija] Can it be said that the situation is not so grave when tens of thousands of people have been protesting for weeks because of various attacks and when a situation has been created in which even a small cause may develop into a showdown between the nationalities?

[Siroka] A conflict of such proportions could only occur if the Albanians would join in and accept the conflict. However, this has not yet happened, and I think that the majority of the Serbs and Montenegrins do not wish it. We must do everything to prevent it.

[Curuvija] Is the assertion of the exceptionally grave situation not confirmed by the fact that the institutions in Kosovo have been blocked, that some parallel organs are appearing, and that even the provincial security organs, as Rahman Morina said, cannot perform some of their functions?

[Siroka] There are such things. You are right here. Nevertheless, I say that were the situation as bad as it is depicted now, the break that you mention as a danger would have occurred a long time ago.

Toleration of Serbian and Montenegrin Nationalism [subhead]

[Curuvija] Whom did you have in mind when you just said that matters are being inflated?

[Siroka] Various people do it.

[Curuvija] Rahman Morina recently said that "Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism is not being combated" in Kosovo. Why not?

[Siroka] Rahman said that at a session of the LCY Central Committee and publicly on some other occasions. My opinion does not differ from Rahman's. Because of the office he holds and because of his insight, he knows this better. In any case, no specific advocate of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism has been called to account.

[Curuvija] Why does the provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs not work according to the law, regardless of various political umbrellas?

[Siroka] The security organs in Kosovo are a part of the united service in which certain relations and orders rule. In any case, I do not believe that he said something untrue.

[Curuvija] It is a fact that assessments of the Kosovo situation in the Yugoslav sphere differ very much. Nevertheless, how is it possible that the LCY Central Committee Presidium, so to speak immediately after the session of the LCY Central Committee which discussed exclusively Kosovo, requests someone else to harmonize these assessments?

[Siroka] It is a uniform assessment that the situation in Kosovo is deteriorating, and that everything should be done to stop the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, to protect the personal integrity and property especially of Serbs and Montenegrins, to create conditions for the return of emigrants from Kosovo and the arrival of those who wish to live in Kosovo, and to oppose negative trends at any cost. However, differences exist in the attitude toward the causes, and thus toward the means with which this situation should be resolved. One should rely on the results achieved, even if they are small and invisible.

[Curuvija] How big are the differences in the LCY Central Committee Presidium?

[Siroka] The Presidium will now reach the point when it has to intervene. It cannot wait forever so that some differences between the leaderships of the provinces and the leadership of Serbia can be resolved. Just as it was able to adopt stands on the realization of unity in Serbia before the congress, so it is able now. [passage omitted]

Sombor Meeting Cables LCY Central Committee

LD1510215588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1724 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Summary] Sombor, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—A meeting of brotherhood, unity, and solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins and other dispossessed people in Kosovo was held today in Liberation Square, Sombor. It was opened by Ljubomir Miljkovic, president of the SAWP Municipal Conference Presidium. Those present were addressed by Prof Sreten Opacic, who spoke on behalf of 4,000 war veterans in this Backa municipality. Telegrams were sent to the SFRY Presidency and to the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Gen Buncic Rules Out Army Intervention

LD1610004788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2212 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 15 (TANJUG)—Speculations spoken out loud that the time has come in Yugoslavia for the Army to take things into its own hands are nonsensical, because the all-Yugoslav People's Army has a constitutionally defined role and responsibility, Yugoslav Assistant Defence Secretary Lieutenant-General Simeon Buncic says in an interview to the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI, carried by the daily in its issue for tomorrow.

The lieutenant-general of the Yugoslav People's Army who has held important political offices in the Army, in addition to his prominent military positions, says that the Army is acting in keeping with these commitments and will continue to do so in the future.

Gen. Buncic stresses that the views of members of the Army on the current situation in the country are no different from those held by a vast majority of the population.

He recalls the Army commitments that the essential values of the revolution and the achievements of socialist development can and must be defended from all threats.

He also stresses that the Yugoslavs may rest assured that the Army is, at these difficult moments, ideo-politically united and able in the moral and every other respect to discharge its share of responsibility for the defence of the country.

Asked to define that which, in his view, endangers Yugoslavia's survival most, Gen. Buncic says that Yugoslavia cannot survive either as a confederation or as a centralistic-unitaristic entity. He also says that the advocates of these concepts include among their ranks prominent high-ranking figures who either cannot or will not realize it. He also warns that a nationalistically tinged homogenization of the masses is being carried out on these platforms.

Speaking about the forthcoming 17th session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central committee, scheduled to be held in Belgrade on Monday, Gen. Buncic says that one rightly expects much from it. He warns, however, that one session, whatever its conclusions, canot solve that which has not been done for years. "In my view, the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee must break the blockades in which we are labouring and open prospects for more efficiaciously dealing with questions and problems encountered by Yugoslav society", Gen. Buncic says.

In conclusion, Gen Buncic expresses great concern regarding confrontations between individual leaderships of the League of Communists and says that these should be cleared at the 17th LCY Central Committee session.

Constitutional Commission Remains Undecided

LD1710011488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2110 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Oct (TANJUG)—Four days before the expected adoption of the constitutional amendments in the Yugoslav Assembly, almost all controversial questions remained controversial. This was confirmed today on the 4th day of the session of the Constitutional Commission of the SFRY Assembly.

Issues put forward by the Slovenian Assembly remained unresolved with regard to federal jurisdiction over constituional issues, the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army, and the authority of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia and the Federal Court.

The Slovenian rejection of the authority of the Federation in protecting the constitutional order is now also shared by Croatia. As for the process of electing the Presidency of the SFRY, opinions are still devided, and the commission has not taken a definitive stand.

The commission will tackle all the controversial questions at the session to be held on the eve of the Federal Chamber's session. By that time, the final stands of the Constitutional Commission of Slovenia, which meets tomorrow, will be known.

Socialist Alliance Examines Kosovo Situation

LD1410204688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1925 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 14 (TANJUG)—The most important precondition for overcoming the counter-revolution in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo is the establishment of the collective and individual responsibility of the organs and cadres on all levels, particularly the Kosovo political leadership, said the Socialist Alliance, Yugoslavia's most massive socio-political organization, in a document published today on its immediate tasks in the implementation of the stands on Kosovo.

The Socialist Alliance assessed that the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the tasks set by the Alliance itself on curbing Albanian chauvinism and irredentism in Kosovo are being implemented slowly and inadequately.

One of the most important tasks is the launching of the broadest possible socio-political action for removing all the causes of further aggravation of inter-nationality relations in Kosovo and for strengthening self-management socalist awareness and Yugoslav socialist patriotism.

The leadership of the Socialist Alliance also demands that the competent organs of the federation, the Republic of Serbia, of which Kosovo is a part, and Kosovo itself, secure legal protection, especially personal and property security, for all citizens in the province without delay and using all legal means.

Among the immediate tasks, emphasis was also laid on a wide-scale social action for the acceptance of family planning among the majority Albanian population in Kosovo as a precondition for improving the quality of life, in accordance with the economic and social conditions.

Economic Reform To Be Based on 'Open Economy'

LD1510211688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2030 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 15 (TANJUG)—A thorough reform of the economic system in Yugoslavia will be based on the principles of an open economy capable of quick adjustment to the market and contemporary international technological achievements in order to ensure dynamic development, Secretary of the Federal Government's Commission for Economic Reform Ljubisa Jeredic stated at a press conference for foreign correspondents here today.

Jeredic said that the government has already sent most of the draft laws on the implementation of the economic reform to the Federal Assembly. Only a fundamental change in the economic system will provide a way out of the economic and social crisis, but this also implies a reform of the political system and changes in the development and economic policies, he said.

The federal government holds that comprehensive changes are inevitable, due to the hitherto suppression of market laws and commodity production which led to serious consequences in the national economy.

Under Yugoslavia's new draft laws, the key changes will take place in the sphere of ownership relations and extended reproduction. It was decided that social capital must be renewed and enlarged, and that the basic subject of social ownership will be the firm, which will also bear responsibility for the use of capital.

The reform provides for pluralism of the form of ownership—besides social ownership, or nobody's as some call it here, there will also be cooperative, collective, private and joint ownership. The same economic system and business operation conditions will apply for all forms of ownership, which was not the case up to now. Social capital was preferred to private capital.

The right to manage and distribute profit, in proportion to the invested funds, will be ensured in Yugoslav firms. Both domestic and foreign investors will be granted this right.

The new laws also envisage major changes in management and the selection of managers in Yugoslav enterprises. The Workers' Council will determine the policy and development goals of the enterprise, while the management would be completely free to organize the production process, and select and allocate employees.

The new regulations also envisage changes which are to lead to the creation of an integrated market of goods, capital, labour and knowledge—with prices, as a rule, formed freely on the market.

Yugoslavia also faces the creation of a money, capital and stock market where prices also form according to supply and demand.

Foreigners in Yugoslavia will also be able to set up their own enterprises, it was said at the press conference. Initially, this will be possible in customs free zones which already exist in all major ports on the Adriatic and along the Danube.

The new regulations will set no restrictions to foreigners concerning the upper limits in their joint ventures with domestic firms. The lower limits will be 50,000 dollars for the social sector and 20,000 dollars for cooperatives.

Foreign investments in Yugoslavia will be allowed to exceed the domestic and foreigners will also be able to carry out transactions on the stocks and bonds market. The new regulations will grant full legal and property security to foreign investors as well transfer of profits.

Explosion Damages National Monument

LD1410124988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1121 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Trogir, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—At about 0430 the citizens of Veliki Drvenik [near Trogir] were awaken by a strong explosion. According to the Trogir Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the explosion damaged the Mother Homeland Monument, a replica of the monument in the Al-Shatt Desert in the Sinai.

Workers of the Trogir municipal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the investigative judge, and the public prosecutor from Split inspected the site soon after the explosion. There are no reports on the extent of the damage or on the cause of the explosion. The investigation continues.

Sunflower Oil Price Hike Set for 15 Oct

LD1410231288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2047 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Summary] Belgrade, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—In line with a decision of the FEC, as from tomorrow the retail price of edible sunflower oil sold in 1-liter glass containers will cost 4,370 dinars. Prices of other types of oil are somewhat lower. Oil producers had asked for prices ranging between 5,354 to 10,292 dinars per liter, but after taking the protection of the standard of living of consumers into account, the FEC was unable to accept these amounts.

Serbians React With 'Dismay' to LCY CC Session

Nis LC Presidiums Cable LCY CC

LD1410180288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Nis, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—The Presidiums of the Municipal and University LC Committees in Nis held a special joint session today and most vigorously protested against the assessments made during the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium yesterday which referred to inactivity on the part of the LC of Serbia and its leadership in defending Comrade Tito's personality and achievements.

The assessments made there, which aroused the dismay of the party organization, the working people, and the citizens of Nis, are unacceptable and tendencious, according to the telegram addressed to the top leadership of the LCY and of the LC of Serbia.

The two Nis party leaderships demanded that the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia urgently express its views on the assessments made.

In expressing the public's disappointment over the outcome of the joint session of the two presidiums in Pristina, the leaderships of the LC organization in Nis and at the university have demanded that before the 17th LCY Central Committee session the LCY Central Committee Presidium should meet to discuss the responsibility of Stipe Suvar, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, in connection with his latest statements and over the way he conducted the session in Pristina.

Gracanin Responds to Suvar Accusations

LD1410203088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1940 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 14 (TANJUG)—President of the Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Petar Gracanin today accused Yugoslav Party leader Stipe Suvar of trying, by "intimidating and compomising" the Serbian Party and state leaderships, to "block the fulfilment of the main tasks in the republic", namely, the struggle against the counter-revolution in the province of Kosovo and changes to the republican Constitution.

Gracanin was prompted to make the assessment by yesterday's session of the Yugoslav top party leadership, at which Suvar accused the Serbian party leadership of inconsistently and inadequately countering attacks on the leader of the Yugoslav revolution and first Yugoslav president, Josip Broz Tito. During a talk with political activists of a Belgrade commune today, Gracanin denied the accusations made by Suvar and assessed his address of yesterday as specific pressure brought to bear on the Serbian party.

Suvar's stand "does not contribute to the unity of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY)", Gracanin assessed. The president of the Serbian Presidency was categorical that "this must not be permitted and responsibility for this must be demanded."

Gracanin described as "completely groundless and extremely malicious" the assessments by some circles in Yugoslavia that the Serbian nation is allegedly wishing a "new hegemony" and that the Serbian political leadership is allegedly striving for expansion and domination within Yugoslavia.

"Socialism and Yugoslavia as a federative community of fraternal and equal nations and nationalities are the only historic interests of the Serbian nation," the Serbian Presidency president stated categorically.

Assessing the accusations against the Serbian leadership as a result of its determined struggle to settle the Kosovo problem, Gracanin said he was convinced that the forthcoming 17th Yugoslav party plenum scheduled for Monday would reject all attempts to revise the Yugoslav party assessments on Kosovo. For it is precisely the attempts at revision and the divided opinions on the Kosovo problem that encourage Albanian separatists, he said.

"I am convinced that what we are doing in Serbia is along the lines of the LCY policy, brotherhood and unity, and overcoming the crisis. It is not detrimental to any nation in Yugoslavia—it is a contribution to the strengthening of their unity," said Petar Gracanin.

Official Bodies in Nis, Vranje Denounce Suvar

AU1510175188 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] The accusation by Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, to the effect that the LC of Serbia does not follow Tito's road, is not supported by evidence and is fabricated with the clear intention of changing the discussion at the upcoming 17th LCY Central Committee session and that instead of questions of responsibility and cadre renovation, the leadership of Serbia and its policy be put on the agenda. This was said at an expanded session of the Presidium of the Intercommunal Conference of the LC of Nis, which discussed the current political security situation in the region.

The executive leaderships of the sociopolitical organizations of the Vranje Communal Assembly state in their protest that they sharply condemn the statement by Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, which without foundation attacks the leadership of the SR of Serbia, which certainly does not contribute to the strengthening of unity at the 17th plenum.

Call for Dismissal of Vojvodina TU Figures

LD1410195088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1625 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Summary] Belgrade, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Council of the Serbian Trade Union Federation at today's session called for the resignation of Stevan Grubjesic, president of the Vojvodina Trade Unions Council, and also of Pal Benak, the former president, for their failure to take the correct stand on recent events in Novi Sad or to properly conduct the public debate on the changes to the Serbian Constitution. There were also calls for individual responsibility on the part of each member of the provincial trade union Presidium.

Nis Students Join 'Food Boycott'

LD1510013488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1552 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Nis, 14 October, (TANJUG)—Over 5,000 Nis University students today refused to take food in student restaurants as a sign of solidarity with the justified demands of the students of Veljko Vlahovic University in Titograd.

The leadership of the student organization in Nis also denounced the inappropriate intervention by the internal affairs organs in Titograd.

Prijepolje Demonstration Seeks Constitution Change

LD1410194688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Summary] Prijepolje, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—Today over 15,000 people took part in a brotherhood and unity meeting in Prijepolje to express their support for the

proposed changes to the Serbian and Yugoslav Constitutions and the ensurance of the personal safety of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

Mionica Citizens Hold Solidarity Meeting

LD1410194988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1702 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Summary] Mionica, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—About 5,000 people gathered today in Mionica, Serbia to express solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

Slovene President Kucan Addresses LC Meeting

LD1510174488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1110 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 12 Oct (TANJUG)—National conflicts, meetings and gatherings of all kinds, campaigns, unsubstantiated accusations, twisted information, and the stirring up of public opinion, trials, committees, and dealings with security services have become the center of social and political attention. Important issues such as economic and social development have almost become forgotten. This was stated at today's session of the Slovene LC Central Committee by President Milan Kucan, in his introductory report. The committee is examining the activities of the Slovene LC with regard to the addenda to the Constitution, the realization of the program of this Committee on Kosovo, and the report on the realization of the conclusions of the 10th Slovene LC Congress referring to the Dachau trials.

Before establishing the agenda, Milan Kucan stressed in his introductory speech that today's session imposed exceptionally demanding but also responsible tasks on the Slovene LC Central Committee, not only because of the political topics on the agenda, but also because of the current [word indistinct] and the situation in which decisions have to be made and stances adopted on them. These stances will have an impact on the political life in Slovenia and the entire country, said Kucan, mentioning in this connection that nothing should be added to the "appeal to reason" of the Yugoslav Youth Organization and that the orientations of young people are reaffirmed by everyday life.

Considering drastic price increases and a drop in the realistic buying power which radically reduces the standard of living, as well as uncertainty of the fate of many producers and posts, unclear and uncertain prospects, and threatened social security of people, it is hardly surprising to see that one can bring these masses of dissatisfied people out onto the streets and create the illusion for them that this is the way in which people work and carry out their policies, said Kucan. He went on to stress that behind all this it would not be difficult to conceal the intentions of those who are the real strategists of such policies or the responsibility for its consequences. It is not difficult either to kindle the fires of political, national, social, and other passions, but one should also consider the fire sites that are soon forgotten. It is high time to sober up, to put an end to the madness that is pushing us into the abyss and to prevent those who take advantage of and manipulate the hardships of people. But this is not possible without the consolidation and reaffirmation of democracy, stressed Kucan.

One cannot establish who is responsible for what and who is authorizing whom [words indistinct], who is simulated and formal, and who is a true exponent of appeals to people to attend various forms of mass politicization and protests, and to support demands in the name of genuine or simulated goals. The thesis on the people's will should be stripped of the character of an alibi, said Kucan.

This is the meaning of the increasingly resounding and resolute demands for the legal state, observance of human rights, consolidation of legitimate institutions and the system as a whole, consolidation of its authority alongside a responsible and competent application of duties, and their development in keeping with democratic demands of the majority for their responsibility. This is also the meaning of the demand for the responsibility of those who represent these institutions, and who have been elected to them in a democratic manner and with trust. There is no doubt that this is now the moment for the payment of the bill of responsibility, Kucan said. He added that each organ, each of its members, and each official should be accountable for what he has done, his mistakes, what he has not done, or (?which) he was obliged to do. But only by well-argued reasons and in a way that will not endanger people's dignity.

Now, when the discrepancy between peoples and leaderships is one of the basic characteristics of our crisis; now, when it is a matter of a crisis of confidence, there is no reason to flee from a debate on responsibility, in general, or in a concrete way in our Central Committee. This, among other things, is also the conclusion of the LCY. However, this should be done in the way expressed in one of the numerous letters that over the last few days have arrived in the LC: "I support you in your efforts, but I expect you not to give in, and to allow only your people and Slovene Communists to assess your work, to give you authority, and to recall you."

Kucan asserted that the most important thing now is confidence. After all, once confidence has disappeared it does not return. In this situation the SR of Slovenia and our Central Committee are being reproached for not showing—for egotistical reasons and in order to defend cultural interests—necessary interest and responsibility in, and for, common Yugoslav questions, particularly for Kosovo, and for our opposition to some draft addenda to the SFRY Constitution. First we were told, also from very authoritative positions, that the onus of responsibility for the far-reaching consequences that will arise if the constitutional addenda are not approved, and if attempts to reform the economic and political system are

impeded, will fall on us, and not on those who extort agreement on questions where it does not exist and who wish to create the illusion of unity where differences exist.

We will today formulate our attitude to Kosovo and the Constitution, and I am firmly convinced, Kucan said, that this attitude will not be irresponsible either vis-a-vis the authentic interests of the Slovene people and its working class, the interests of other nations and nationalities in the SFRY, or Yugoslavia as a socialist federative community. [passage omitted] Milan Kucan added that the common denominator of the social situation, which is characterized by the increasingly mass expression of dissatisfaction by the people with their social, economic, national and human position, as well as the growing sense of danger and fear, is the lack of initiatives by socialist forces, including the LC and our Central Committee.

After the Slovene LC Conference we had this initiative, Kucan said, and added that it had been made with an attractively formulated alternative of democratic socialist self-management. At that time we also had large-scale support from the people—support which gave us self confidence and a position of having the initiative in the LCY, which obviously was also expressed at the LCY Conference. For this policy—the policy of reform—we obtained confidence and a mandate, Kucan said, and stressed that it is clear where the activity of the Slovene LC and the Central Committee should be directed. It should be oriented toward the implementation of this policy, where unity can be achieved and toward involvement in developing and realizing these political guidelines, something which is also the greatest support, far more valuable than sending telegrams and expressions of support. There should be a campaign for the affirmation of and support for this policy, and there should be a critical verification of the question of why stagnation occurred, of why there has been a break in the formation and strengthening of the democratic front for reform in Slovenia, and of why attempts are being made to take the initiative from us.

A constituent part of this initiative is the resolute resistance to tendencies and threats which are more explicit and clearer, and which aspire toward the legalization and recognition of the extraordinary situation. It is patently obvious that in Yugoslavia there are forces that are suited by threats of an extraordinary situation, because in the recent events in Novi Sad and Titograd we were, so to speak, on the threshold of such a situation. Rumors about the preparation of a military coup, the use of the Army and the police to whip up fear, demands for an emergency elections, in other words, elections ahead of schedule, and for extraordinary LC Congresses, are forcing us toward taking extraordinary measures.

Kucan asked what all this means. It could be that the wish to impose one will replace the democratic coexistence, which is the precondition for and expression of this comprehensive equality, the essential content and expression of which is likewise equal responsibility. What must worry us in particular here is the fact that this thinking and the initiatives about extraordinary measures, which in large measure suspend the rights of the individual and open up the door to bureaucratic arbitrariness, come from a place which is the "location" of the responsibility for control over the operation of the institutions of the system, over the functioning of the state and over the accountability of officials and a place which, in keeping with the declarations about this, should take the appropriate measures that would ensure that these institutions and their exponents work effectively, successfully, and legally.

Do the exponents of these demands really not see that in this way they are merely supporting the suspension of the legal and legitimate system? Do they really not know what can be read in each serious analysis of our political system—that we are in a crisis—because many important, economic, political, and other decisions were adopted in informal and illegal ways, in political structures using voluntaristic and subjectivist logic and not in workers' councils, delegate assemblies and other institutions specified by the Constitution. This fact is in itself the most alarming extraordinary situation, Kucan said. It is precisely because of this that the alarm should be raised, extremly responsible thinking done, and measures taken to impede decisionmaking outside the constitutional framework, and not the proposing of measures that merely sanction and extend this extraordinary situation and this method of decisionmaking. This should be opposed, and must be one of the messages from today's meeting, Kucan said. Today we have to decide on proposed stances for the 17th LCY Central Committee session. This session is being held in a situation which is in any case critical, at a time of dramatic events in the SR of Serbia and in an extremely strained situation in Vojvodina and Montenegro. These events caused many echoes, much attention and speculation, even abroad, and among our people it caused great concern for our common destiny, as well as a lot of fear. [passage ommitted]

Kucan said that Slovene Communists, this Central Committee and its Presidium are being attacked and pressured from various sides. Whereas some are reproaching us for unreasonably breaking up unity by unprincipled intolerance, which is against the interest of the working class, and saying that tomorrow we will be guilty for the entire political crisis, others are preparing to condemn us for high treason and are expressing in advance a suspicion that we are afraid, and because of this are ready to agree with all kinds of unprincipled compromises at the expense of the Slovene people, and attribute to us in advance treacherous aims, and are putting us on trial.

When, instead of a discussion on three reforms we were offered a discussion forcing us to decide between our SFRY of equal nations, sovereign republics, and autonomous provinces, or some Yugoslavia with centralized

power and with a majority power approach to national relations, instead of a reliance on sovereignty, which, like others, the Slovene nation and its working class fought for, we did not accept such a discussion, because it was contrary to our constitutional Cebine Documents, the Kocevje meeting, the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] conclusions, and all postwar program decisions of Slovene LC Congresses. There cannot be compromises here, at least not for Communists, Kucan emphasized.

A referendum, if the assessment that one is useful and needed prevails, will have to answer whether our joint involvement, which is encompassed by the Slovene Assembly stances, is the expression of the will of working people and citizens of Slovenia, or whether it is the expression of decisions by a group of leaders who are not backed by the mood of Slovenes, especially those outside Slovenia.

The LCY finds itself in an unenviable situation. Our objectively conditioned differences are changing into disunity and open conflicts, above all as a result of the old party methods we are using. We should also reach a considered reply on whether degradation of the LC is not perhaps caused precisely by the ruling party practice, rather than by the existence of national organizations, which in fact, through the revolution and the national liberation struggle, brought about Yugoslavia's existence. [passage ommitted]

It is obvious that today Yugoslav Communists have to prove that centralization of power and decisionmaking is not the cure for the bureaucratization of the LCY and Yugoslav society, Kucan said.

Kucan emphasized that the statement from the joint session of the Serbian Presidency and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium fits into such a political context, which was obviously induced by the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium declaration expressing support for the Montenegrin Presidency to solve by legal means and through legitimate institutions, problems that caused the mass discontent and protests of the people, and to protect the identity of the Montenegrin people and the sovereignty of its state from greater Serbian nationalist tendencies.

In connection with this, I would like to say that we are surprised by the forcefulness, aggresiveness, and lack of reason in the response of comrades from Serbia, Kucan emphasized. We are firmly convinced that we have not given any reason for such a reaction with our declaration, and that there is no basis in the declaration for drawing the political conclusions which are included in the statement from the session of the two political bodies of the SR of Serbia.

Our declaration was published in almost the entire Yugoslav press, except—as far as I know—in the Serbian press. Nothing needs to be added to that declaration, and nothing needs to be substracted from it. Everyone was able to read and judge it. Now, when there is so much citing of people and their wishes, this is very important, Kucan said. Any interpretation by us of the declaration is therefore superfluous. Kucan stated in this connection that the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, as always, is open to and prepared for discussion in this case. However, Kucan emphasized, we are obliged to say that our declaration expresses our principled standpoints and decisions with respect to the most current political questions in Yugoslavia and a firm conviction regarding the means by which they should be resolved, and is an expression of our communist conviction and our contribution to the voice of reason.

Even if there had been no agreement at the LCY Central Committee Presidium that there was a need to send such statements of support to the Montenegrin LC Presidium from all republican LC Central Committee Presidiums, we would have sent precisely such a statement. This was done by us, and by comrades from the LC's of Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia. We are firmly convinced that our declaration is in accordance with the basic political orientations of the LCY, and with statements made by the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the SFRY Presidency statement. [passage omitted]

Kucan said that the practice of suppressing authentic information is not good, nor is the practice of exhibiting it if it is only a means of settling political accounts and exacerbating the political situation. It would not be good if Slovene stances were known only through attacks on individual officials or institutions of our republic. The Slovene LC Ce ıtral Committee Presidium cannot accept such a manner of discussion, and it rejects it resolutely, Kucan stressed.

This is a precedent in relations in the LCY that we do not wish to accept, because it is well known from the history of the communist movement. It is the imposition of discussion from predefined positions and stances to which the facts must be adjusted, that is, examples must be looked for which are in accordance with them and which confirm the predetermined stances, Kucan emphasized.

Slovene Youth Group Calls For Party Pluralism

AU1410120288 Paris AFP in English
1150 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Excerpt] Belgrade, Oct 14 (AFP)—The leadership of Slovenia's official youth organization has called for the abolition of Yugoslavia's one-party system because of its many shortcomings, the Belgrade daily BORBA reported Friday [14 October].

Such proposals by the northern republic's youth wing are viewed here as a method for the Slovene leadership to send out feelers on possible reforms, analysts said.

Slovenia has been carrying out a democratisation process for several years which has far outstripped similar moves in the country's other republics.

Recent political unrest in Serbia and Montenegro, "have shown the harmfulness of only one party," the Slovene youth leadership said in a paper to be submitted to the Yugoslav Youth Organization shortly.

The document called for the "formal" abolition of the one-party system. And it also called for an end to the principle of democratic centralism, a cornerstone of the communist system.

Youth organizations should come out from under the wing of the League of Communists, Yugoslavia's Communist Party, the document proposed. It accused the League's leadership of acting "unconstitutionally", and said young people should not have to bear the consequences of political infighting at the top. [passage omitted]

Montenegrin LC Central Committee Holds Session

LD1510204488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1224 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Titograd, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—The socioeconomic, social, and political situation in Yugoslavia, and especially in Montenegro, is worse than the generalized expressions saying that it is "serious and complex," Dr Miljan Radovic said at today's session of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee in his introductory report on the current political and economic situation in the republic. It is burdened by many problems, social dissatisfaction, and the events that are taking place with astonishing speed, events that are very difficult to control. We have said for a long time that we are in a crisis, but as if we were not conscious that it has taken on dramatic proportions. Its social dimensions over the last few days have become like a real eruption, and this brings many things.

We have borne witness, Radovic stressed, to the fact that all attempts hitherto to call a halt to the crisis, to put a stop to negative trends, and to make a radical turnabout, have been almost completely unsuccessful. Most frequently we have been content to describe the situation, discover its causes, and foresee what would happen if we did not do as we should. And we have not done what we should have, and what we foresaw has been happening over the last few days—it is happening to us here, before our very eyes. Whether what is happening is the result of the objective course of social trends today or whether someone is directing these negative developments quite consciously and in a calculated way is another question.

The economic, social, and political situation in Montenegro today is burdened by dangers and is threatening its internal stability and the stability of the country. The events of the last few days unfortunately confirm this completely. We are faced with a most serious threat to the constitutional system and the functioning of the system, such as we have not had ever since the war.

It would really be politically out of place and shortsighted of us to repeat now, at such a crucial moment, the assessments expressed so many times about the paralysis of the economy in Montenegro, about illiquidity, above-average indebtedness, and its unfavorable structure. We have said this numerous times. We have very often assessed the political-security situation. And I believe that we would agree that we assessed it correctly. We stated each time that our political security situation is far more favorable than the economic and social situation. This was true but we lulled ourselves to sleep by saying this. Everything has its limits and matters have developed as they have developed.

The latest events, Radovic went on to say, such as occurred last Friday in Titograd, and afterward in Niksic, confirm for us that the serious economic and social situation is the source of all the dissatisfaction. We are in a situation where the eruptive outpourings of revolt by our workers, citizens, youth, and students can no longer be channeled by normal political action. This cannot be done also because the political situation and relations in the country are characterized by disunity, division, and open confrontation.

Anticommunist and antisocialist forces are out in the open today. Brotherhood and unity, self-management, nonalignment, the Yugoslav People's Army, Tito's personality and accomplishments, and the system as a whole are today being most virulently attacked by antisocialist forces, as they have never been seen since the SFRY came into existence. [passage omitted]

Those events showed that the working class and workers in direct production are no longer able to support the over-heavy burden of the administrative apparatus and that the working class which our authorities are always talking about are barely able to make ends meet. However, despite everything, our way out is in the working class support for no other system than that of socialist self-management, for no other set-up than the federative system of Yugoslavia, for brotherhood and unity, and for the equality of all the nations and nationalities who live in it, and who won all this in the armed part of the socialist revolution.

It can be stated even now, Radovic went on to say, that the latest events in Montenegro have profoundly shaken the ranks of this republic. Hence, starting from this session, we must do everything we can to set the LC on the right track and thoroughly stabilize it.

The LC, so to speak, must immediately mobilize all its potential in a united front of the struggle for the economic stabilization of society and the opening up of social prospects for people and citizens and for the decisive smashing of the anti-socialist offensive. The

focus of the LC struggle on the ideological front must, above all, be against growing bureaucratism, etatism, dogmatism, all forms of nationalism, and the most destructive counterrevolutionary platforms directed against brotherhood and unity and the equality of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. The greatest responsibility for the results of this struggle is borne by the LC, and especially this Central Committee and its Presidium.

Had we worked hitherto as we should have, what happened in front of the assembly of the SR of Montenegro in Titograd on the night of 7 October this year would not have happened to us. We had the opportunity, as did the whole of the Yugoslav public, to listen to, apart from the justified workers' and students' demands, theses and messages that would make any decent individual simply shudder. This was an outpouring of an unprecedented anticommunist and antisocialist interpretation of our social reality and which until yesterday was considered impossible. I believe that no individual, not only in this climate but also beyond it, could conceive of such an antisystem and antisocialist mood being imaginable in our country, let alone demonstrations being so public. [transmission interrupted—TANJUG parts 4-7 not received]

Meetings and rallies, Radivoje Brajovic said, expressed dissatisfaction and indignation with the difficult situation facing workers and citizens, with the fact that problems are not being resolved, that the leadership is not in a position to build unity about a proper way out of the crisis, and that as the growing problems remain unresolved the very foundations of Yugoslavia are being hit with increasing frequency. Our workers and people have grasped that they themselves can enter political life not only to be informed but to seek changes in the solutions pertaining to our system. They can also ask for personnel changes and look for people who will be more capable and by respecting workers' interests lay down and carry out our social policy. Indeed, this is a deeply progressive idea.

It is a pity that we ourselves had not noted these meetings and rallies, that they are not being led by the best workers and the best Communists and that they are not organized by workers councils and by youth organization and Socialist Alliance leaderships. Well, we saw how things turned out when meetings and rallies are not tackled in this way. We were probably wrong not to have organized, to give an example, a solidarity meeting with the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and not to have thought to organize it ourselves. This is because the organization of the meetings bypassed our social insitutions. We experiences, in addition to something very necessary and positive, many slogans from which it transpired that their protagonists were not concerned with the misfortunes of the people in Kosovo and with the terrible wound and shame which we all share, but that they aspire to other objectives, objectives that do not aim at resolving the problems and the development of socialism in our country.

I would like to say, Brajovic stressed, that the appropriate organs in Montenegro, Serbia, and Kosovo have unambiguous information that the instigators and organizers of the rallies, during which platforms will be erected for the struggle against this Yugoslavia and in favor of some other type of Yugoslavia, here in Montenegro have groups and strongholds with which they maintain lively contacts.

Unfortunately, Brajovic said, the intentions of these groups and of individuals have been substantially aided and continue to be aided by the press. I will be frank. They are supported, deliberately or unitentionally, among others, by the newspaper POLITIKA. How did it help them? By the fact that—as far as Kosovo and the activities of the LC and of Montenegro toward Kosovo are concerned—by systematically ignoring our actions as well as our views and stands in connection with the SR of Serbia's work on constitutional changes. Not only did it ignore it but also sowed confusion, half-truths, and sometimes complete fabrications.

Why does it have to do that and to whose advantage is it? To put it simply, the picture that the Montenegrin leadership is uninterested and lukewarm in regard to these serious issues was to someone's advantage. Apart from the fact that this is absolutely untrue this picture was systematically presented and reiterated and it gradually began to have an impact on the awareness of the people.

Why is it, to give an example, Brajovic went on to say, there no reaction when slogans like "You betrayed Serbia" or "You betrayed (?freedom)" are shouted at us. Why is there no reaction? The Montenegrins and Montenegro never betrayed anyone, and in particular they have not betrayed their brothers. The Montenegrins have never betrayed freedom; the Montenegrins will never betray Yugoslavia. Let the Montenegrin leadership be allowed to pursue a Yugoslav policy. We do not believe that others want to do that less than we do. But will they allow us to pursue such a policy unhampered by anyone? We will fight and we continue to fight for Yugoslavia. We fight, Brajovic stressed, for a Yugoslavia in which the Montenegrin people are equal to everybody else.

Speaking of his personal responsibility, Brajovic reminded the Central Committee members that recently he submitted his irrevocable resignation as member of the Presidency of the SR of Montenegro. I did that, he stressed, out of a feeling of personal responsibility. Five years ago I thought about doing it when I saw the way things were going, and when it seemed that they could not be changed, Brajovic said.

We have gone down a lot of wrong roads that were not discovered in time and removed in timely fashion, Zef Djeljosevic stressed. This we must openly and critically

recognize, not only one or two of us but all of us together who are in posts in associated labor and in political forums from the municipalities to the federation. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the very serious economic situation in the republic as the basic cause of the dissatisfaction, Milovan Djurickovic said that the fact that the May measures (of the Federal Executive Council) were not consistent, nor synchronized, and some were not even adopted, also had a major effect on the situation not changing more rapidly. In addition, the enormous delay in the federation meeting its obligations toward organizations of associated labor in the republic, particularly with regard to exchange rate differences, brought a number of collectives, in particular the railways, Bar port and Radoje Dakic, to a hopeless situation. Success in approving and bringing to life the heralded reforms in the shortest possible time would be a powerful answer and the greatest rebuttal to what have become of late increasingly aggressive anticommunist and antisocialist forces, he said.

Vuko Vukadinovic acquainted the members of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee with the difficulties the Republican Executive Committee faced in the preceding period in the implementation of its economic policy, and went on to explain how the Council assesses its own responsibility for the situation now facing Montenegro.

One thing is certain, Vukadinovic stressed, we in the Executive Council are not prepared to tender our resignations alone, but we quite soberly offer them. [passage omitted] Responsibility is called for by the many years of crisis, the Kosovo drama, the obvious disunity and impotence of the leadership, which we are now experiencing, when the workers' and citizens' dissatisfaction is reaching a climax, in both words and actions. Accountability is called for by the tasks of development, by the demands of the future. The question being asked is: Whose accountability? With good reason the accountability is being sought of political and state leaderships and individuals within them, before all others, understandably, because of their influence and the duties they have, and because of their positions and objective responsibility. Other exponents of social, economic, and other positions cannot escape accountability either.

Without exaggeration and pathos I can state, Vukadinovic stressed, that I feel personally responsible for the situation in Kosovo for the simple but understandable reason that I have been in the leadership of the republic for some time. I therefore am in no dilemma over the fact that a number of members of the LCY Central Committee and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committe should tender their resignations or be dismissed because of the intolerable situation in Kosovo. This is the minimum that human and political reasons demand. This is not a question of malice and litigation between individuals.

Taking part in the work of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Plenum, Milan Pancevski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stressed that the working class is clearly showing its dissatisfaction with the present state of social relations in our country, and that the LC must respect this and very seriously investigate the core of the workers' dissatisfaction. If the working class, Pancevski said, is showing great patience at this time in the face of all the difficulties it is bearing on its shoulders, and is showing understanding, then government organs should show even greater understanding for its problems. Workers' dissatisfaction has enormous potential for changing the situation. The LC must rely precisely on this class potential in order to radicalize its own and overall action. This is its historical chance to intensify political action, to become a factor of transformation, and to revitalize its revolutionary ideas.

We must say openly, Pancevski stressed, that the LC is going through its own crisis. The model of leadership that relies on a long out-of-date process of its own bureaucratization, on the increasing separation of the leadership from the working class, on the absence of elementary self-critisim, on the federalization of the LC, and on the supremacy of its own truth, is in crisis. The LCY conference has determined the tasks linked with the transformation of the LCY. This platform is an invitation to finally face up to the serious defects in our work and with the serious ideopolitical implications connected with this. In this context, and also in the context of our general crisis, I must emphasize the issue of accountability. It is certainly relevant for all parts of the Montenegrin LC. Is it possible for our decision to be ideologically and politically acceptable if we insist on the cadre status quo? We must, as an initial phase in the transformation of the LC, carry out cadre changes, what I would call a radical cadre renewal.

The party public, Pancevski said, expects that important answers will be given by the 17th LCY Central Committee session. It is evident that part of the answer to the question of accountability must also be given by the Montenegrin LC. I believe that this task is now more delicate because of the recent events in this republic. We must also treat the question of accountability within the framework of the further democratization of relations in the LC, where it will at last become the rule that people are called to account for poor results. On the other hand we must ensure accountability and differentiation in order to counter bureaucratization and dogmatism.

The Montenegrin LC Central Committee must evaluate all the aspects of the events in Titograd, all decisions, all stances of the competent organs and leadership through the spectrum of the contribution of the leading ideopolitical force of the LC, for the creation of optimal conditions for the recovery of the situation and the solution of the crisis.

On behalf of the democratic relations I am advocating, and precisely because of the need to further develop and enrich them, we will not, Pancevski stressed, enter into

dialogue with nationalist and destructive forces. On the contrary, for the sake of the Yugoslavia of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] for the sake of socialism, self-management, brotherhood and unity, and the equality of all our nations and nationalities, the LC will resolutely settle accounts with these forces.

I believe that in this case new generations of Communists and leading Albanian cadres in Kosovo, Yugoslavia-oriented, must be created, who will learn an important lesson from the mistaken policy that for many years has been conducted in Kosovo. These must be people who are not opportunists, who will enter into direct actions against the activities of Albanian nationalists and separatists, and who will be prepared to fight for the genuine interests of all nations and nationalities in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

I expected from this meeting, and from Comrade Miljan's introductory report, which I must say is the most critical I have heard from him, exceptional criticism and self-criticism, because of the serious and dangerous situation, Vasilije Boskovic said. Instead of analyzing our work, or lack of work, its style and method, we are continuing to discuss in the old way, with the exception of a few workers. It is not possible for work to be good and the situation bad, nor can the commander be good and the brigade bad. This has never been the case, he said. This meeting has not taken the correct course and there is no guarantee that we will change the situation. Nor do I see this guarantee in the 17th session, after what I heard last night on television from the LCY Central Committee Presidium session.

Since this is the case, and I can no longer do anything to help here, I tell you I can no longer be a member of the Central Committee, Vasilije Boskovic stated. [passage omitted]

The greatest danger to our country and the gains of the revolution is posed by the anticommunist ideology of nationalism, which has got out of hand Velisav Vuksanovic stated. Taking advantage of our enormous misfortune and disunity, above all in the LC, compromise-seekers and opportunists, the nationalists, who are raising their slogans in the interest of the working class and self- management, are in fact the cursed enemies of the socialist self-managing society. They are directly fighting, Vuksanovic said, for the isolation of the working class within national borders. They are against class solidarity, and have commenced a struggle for the destruction of Yugoslavia.

Milan Bukelic advocated wise and considered steps in the forthcoming cadre renewal of the leadership of the Montenegrin LC. There must be changes and young, capable people should be appointed to responsible positions. We must give them full support, because only in these circumstances will they be able to come to grips with the execution of the difficult tasks now facing society, Milan Bukelic said. He was the final participant in the debate at today's plenary session of the LC Central Committee of this republic. As a further 16 LC members asked to participate in the discussion on the current political and economic situation in Montenegro the session of the highest party forum of the republic will continue tomorrow at 0800.

Accepting the demands of the workers and students at protest meetings in Titograd and Niksic for the essential raising of the question of confidence in the leading organs of the LC, the Central Committee will tomorrow also assess the work of its presidium.

2d Day of Session Reported

LD1710025488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1041 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Titograd, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—The first participant in today's procedings at the session of the Montenegro LC Central Committee, was Drago Sofranac, who is also director of the Radoje Dakic construction industry machinery plant and whose workers had initiated the protest meeting in Titograd. Emphasizing his deep feeling of responsibility for all the unpleasant things that happened at the protest meeting in the early hours of the morning that prompted him to resign from his post of director general, Sofranac warned that the bad aspects of the meeting should not deceive us or be allowed to bury the causes of and the motives for this rebellion of workers and people. We must not forget, Sofranac said, that the main cause lies in the accumulated dissatisfaction and indignation among the working class and the people of Montenegro at the current socioeconomic and political situation. I think we have failed to devote enough attention at this sesion to these vital issues and have pushed them to the sidelines of the debate. Opportunism and lack of criticism have, Sofranac said, permeated all of us and are destroying the party structure and leaderships at all levels. This is the reason why our work today and the course of the session has failed to correspond to the seriousness of the current situation in Montenegro and Yugoslavia. We have spent too much time defending ourselves, Sofranac said. Of course, we must defend ourselves from unprincipled, malicious, and hostile attacks. What has, however, been missing from our session is the degree of criticism and self-criticism to reflect the current situation. We have, in fact, ignored one vital and essential thing, namely that the people have lost confidence in the leaderships.

Insisting that the messages voiced at the rallies and meetings have been neither understood nor accepted, Sofranac responded negatively to his own question: Do we have the right to be given a second chance when we have failed to make use of the previous ones? We need new programs and reforms and more determined and efficient efforts to resolve them. However, I am convinced that for this, we will need new people whose work

and conduct will be a guarantee for a successful implementation of these programs. I do not believe that present cadres are capable of providing this guarantee, Sofranac said.

Communists and the working class of Montenegro, Bozina Ivanovic said, are extremely concerned not simply about the drastic events that have taken place in this republic but also, if not more so, about a notable and sudden deterioration in political relations and the security situation in the country. Intranational tensions continue to exacerbate at a fast pace while nationalist conflicts within some of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces have become very vehement. However, discussions and exchanges of views on the most vital issues of our society and its further development are being neglected despite the fact that most attention should be focused on economic stabilization and the directions of our further social and economic development in order to pull out of the deep crisis in which we have found ourselves. Intranational conflicts must be pushed aside in light of the struggle for the survival of socialism. [passage omitted]

Some regions, and even the Socialist Republic of Serbia with which we are linked by deep, ancient historic and cultural ties and joint, centuries-long struggle for freedom, have been sending us strange messages and envoys, Ivanovic stressed. It is with great concern that we note that our comrades from the leaderships from these regions have not dissociated themselves from these messages and emisaries, and that they have done nothing to stop them. It seems that they are not aware that these sinister figures are attempting to destroy the revolution-forged socialist brotherhood and unity, that they are negating the history of the Montenegrin people, and are trying to take us back to what we were in the distant past. We must stress that this is not a communist policy but the policy of distant times which we, on behalf of the revolution, will not accept. [passage omitted]

We will not accept anyone from outside Montenegro who expresses concern over and a feeling of responsibility or patronage for our future, Dragan Milonjic stressed. What has been in evidence in Montenegro recently is, to say the least, an inappropriate and in any case unacceptable example of attempts to send emissaries and "lecturers" from outside the republic. Milonjic expressed his surprise at some points made during the discussion at a recent session of the Serbian LC Central Committee and at a question posed by the president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia in which the latter asks for an explanation from the president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro. This is an inappropriate form of communication between responsible organs and individuals who fight for the same goals and are working to fulfilling the same tasks, Milonjic said. [passage omitted]

Budimir Barjaktarevic stressed that cadre changes were necessary at all levels, from the municipality to the republic, to the federation. A change in cadres at the republic level is urgently needed in light of the state of overall relations in Montenegro, despite the fact that the present leadership is not solely responsible for it and the fact that this leadership has failed to complete many of the LC actions for which no one has ever been called to account. [passage omitted] In his view, the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium is also responsible for the fact that some of these issues have never been resolved. He went on to emphasize his own share of responsibility.

The working people and citizens have, for too long, waited patiently on the sidelines of the decisionmaking process—waiting for promises about the resolution of the crisis, about peace and security in Kosovo, about fresh momentum in self-management, about further democratization in every-day life, to be fulfilled. The patience and expectations have now been exhausted, and the popular rebellion of recent times could only come as a surpise for the politically uninitiated or unrealistically naive, Milo Djukanovic said. A large amount of helplessness has been provoked by the bureaucratic blindness of Yugoslav and other political leaderships who, instead of focusing on these issues, were mostly preoccupied by themselves, personal confrontations, and scholarly debates on the advantages of one version of socialism over another. In this way, they gave legitimacy to various forms of socialism in Yugoslavia.

On this occasion, the working people and citizens told us loudly and clearly that they do not believe us. We must show political respect for this, Djukanovic said, calling for changed or completely new political and state leaderships who would remove the legacy of mistrust and would acquire political legitimacy for normal work.

Milorad Celebic, who spoke on behalf of the workers of the aluminum combine of Titograd, said that his colleagues were not satisfied with the course of yesterday's debate during the session of the Montenegro LC Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Milentije Djuranovic informed the members of the Central Committee that Communists in basic party organizations in Titograd's work collectives accepted the the stand by the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium that no pressure should be applied on this party organ by either groups or individuals during the current session. However, Djurovic added, the Communists told us that if they end up being dissatisfied with the changes in party leadership that must start immediately, they would call for an emergency conference of the Titograd LC and an emergency congress of the Montenegro LC. This is also the view of the Titograd LC Municipal Committee, Djurovic said.

The Montenegrin leadership, Risto Kilibarda said, is criticized, among other things, for not investing enough effort in resolving the tragedy in Kosovo; for distancing itself from the people; for being responsible for the decline in the standard of living. Last year, this Central

Committee discussed Kosovo on two occasions. The same issue was discussed by the Conference of the Montenegro LC. But objectively speaking, what could Montenegro have done about the lack of observance of law in Kosovo or about nationalist indoctrination when Serbia itself, of which kosovo is a part, and which had the opportunity to influence the situation in Kosovo at least in line with the LC policy, did nothing or almost nothing about it. Are not good intranational relations in Montenegro, good relations between Albanians and Montenegrins, this republic's contribution to the efforts to resolve the tragedy in Kosovo? [passage omitted]

Just as, on the eve of the eighth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee, Ivan Stambolic overestimated his authority while, at the same time, underestimating the maturity and wisdom of the Serbian people and Serbian Communists, the SR of Serbia Presidency and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium this week overestimated their authority among the Montenegrin people and Montenegrin Communists and underestimated their political maturity and wisdom when they openly called on the Montenegrin people to oust their leadership.

No one can deny the present Serbian leadership its competence and political skill. However, in this particular case, the two leading bodies made an error in judgment. First, at solidarity meetings, the Montenegrin people did express strong support for the Serbian leadership. The Serbian leadership is enjoying a great reputation with the Montenegrin people and Communists. No one can deny this. However, it is a mistake to conclude, on that basis, that the Montengrin people and Montengrin Communists would reject their leadership and embrace the Serbian one. The Montenegrin people's support for the Serbian leadership is, in fact, a support for what the Serbian leadership has been doing to resolve the tragedy of Kosovo and Yugoslavia and especially of the Serbian and Montenegrin people in the province. It is a support for the way the Serbian leadership is carrying out this objective: energetically and resolutely. At the same time, it was perhaps a rebuke of the Montenegrin leadership for not being as energetic as the Serbian leadership in resolving our own, primarily, economic problems.

Taking part in the debate at today's session of the Montenegro LC Central Committee, Veselin Djuranovic stressed that in the course of this year, the SFRY Presidency has, on several occasions, assessed the political situation in the country. Recently it considered the political situation on two occasions and came to a conclusion that the situation was exceptionally difficult, that it was deteriorating, and that far from subsiding, political passions and intranational tensions were being fanned. It is obvious that political passions serve to exacerbate intranational tension. We are today faced with anti-Serbian, anti-Albanian, anti-Slovene, anti-Croat, and anti-Yugoslav passions, and we are faced with a situation rife with danger. Not a single appeal by the SFRY Presidency to assuage political passions has, in fact, been supported in the right way despite three meetings it has had with the presidents of the presidencies of the socialist republics and the provinces this year. I will allow myself to be biased and say that the leadership of Montenegro has responded to these appeals and did not want to make a single move likely to foment these passions. [passage omitted]

We are warning once again that the situation is rife with dangers that can seriously exacerbate the country's instability. Our standing abroad is extremely unfavorable. I want to tell you openly that the internal situation in Yugoslavia is regarded abroad as one of the most sensitive spots in Europe. We have been warning that we must act responsibly and that nothing should be done without referring to that responsibility.

I must add to this, Djuranovic said, that our foreign partners already have serious reservations about investing in Yugoslavia. One country has officially announced that in the next 3 months, it will not enter into an economic partnership with any entity in Yugoslavia. Three European tourist agencies have reduced the number of their tours to Yugoslavia. Why? Not because they have no interest but because political passions in Yugoslavia have been fomented to such an extent that the issue of responsibility for such a situation should be raised from this point of view, too. [as received]

We are all upset about the fact that tensions between Montenegro and Serbia are becoming exacerbated, Djuranovic said in conclusion. I think that we must make maximum efforts to improve the situation. However, the responsibility for this cannot rest on the Montenegrin leaderships alone. The leaderships of Serbia and Montenegro must share the responsibility. There is no other way of approaching this issue. In my view, the two Serbian leading bodies acted correctly when they repeated the Serbian Communists' standpoint regarding the Montenegrin nation and the Montenegrin national issue. This is good, but I would like to know why this has never been done in the last 10 years when great pressure was applied on the Montenegrin nation and Montenegro's state sovereignty and when both of these were denied, he said. [passage omitted]

On the basis of views and standpoints heard during the 2 days of discussion in which over 60 members of the Montenegro LC Central Committee and of other leaderships from the republic and the federation took part, the Montenegrin party top body adopted a set of conclusions on the political-economic situation in the republic and on the demands made by workers, students, and citizens at the protest meetings in Titograd and Niksic.

It is said in the conclusions that the Montenegro LC Central Committee noted that the share of responsibility for the overall situation and unfavorable economic, social, and political situation in society is to be borne by the Central Committee and its Presidium as well the LC

organs in municipal organizations and organs of other sociopolitical organizations and state organs in the republics and municipalities.

The conclusions also stress that the dissatisfaction of workers, students, young people, and citizens expressed at the meetings in Titograd and Niksic was justified, as were their demands, and that the work on fulfilling them should be carried out in line with the conclusions of the recent session of the SR of Montenegro Presidency and the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium.

The Montenegro LC Central Committee accepted the assessment from the conclusions by the two leading bodies and from the introductory speech at the current session regarding a decision made by the SR of Montenegro Presidency on introducing urgent measures to prevent an emergency situation from arising in the municipality of Titograd.

At the same time, the Central Committee calls for a critical analysis and assessment of the shortcomings that became evident in the political work and activity of the organs of sociopolitical organizations and organs of the SR of Montenegro in a situation when there is a realistic danger of a state of emergency.

It was judged at the session that the internal affairs organs embarked on implementing the Presidency's decision in line with legal provisions. On the basis of a special commission, the Assembly of the SR of Montenegro will establish whether members of the internal affairs organs exceeded their powers in any way.

The Central Committee also agreed that a critical and objective analysis should be conducted of the role of the information media in recent events. In line with party documents, the Central Committee of the Montenegro LC has called on all LC organs to raise the issue of confidence in the media. This should also be done by organs in other sociopolitical organizations and all state and self-managing organs. The Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium has been asked to join efforts with the Presidium of the University LC Conference of Titograd University to consider demands made by students and the working people of Veljko Vlahovic University and to inform the Central Committee about their findings at the next session.

This evening, the Montenegro LC Central Committee took a secret vote of confidence on each member of the Presidium. Franjo Ljuljdjuraj, rapporteur for the competent commission, said that 51 voted out of 54 members present. Miljan Radovic, president of the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium, received 42 votes; the Presidium's secretary Savo Sekaric, 40; the members of the Presidium received votes as follows: Risto Kilibarda and Dragan Milonjic, 44 votes; Vesna Perovic-Karadzic, 39; Spiro Mitorovic, 38; Budimir Barjaktarevic, 34; Avdul Kurpejovic, 32. In other words, all the members received a vote of confidence since they all received more votes than the necessary majority of 28.

Expressing his gratitude for the confidence shown, president of the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium, Miljan Radovic, said that he considered this a test of exceptional importance not just for the Presidium's members but also for reiterating the correctness of the political course of the Montenegro LC Central Committee and the LC organizations in municipalities. This was not just a show of support for us, since we would not have gotten it if the majority of LC organizations and Communists in organs and sociopolitical organizations in the republic and municipalities were not committed to the political line of the LC.

Within the framework of the second item on the agenda, the republic's top party body considered documents for the coming 17th session of the LCY.

Mikulic Denies Allegations

LD1510145188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Titograd, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—FEC President Branko Mikulic has denied the statement made by one of the participants in yesterday's discussion during the LC of Montenegro Central Committee session. The telegram, which at Mikulic's request was read aloud during the resumed plenary session, states that neither he nor any member of his family has any property or estate abroad, foreign currency accounts, or any other account deposited with banks. He also said that he doesn't have an apartment or a house.

Titograd Students Boycott Cafeteria Food

LD1410143588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1131 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Titograd, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—Tenants in student dormitories in Titograd, Niksic, and Kotor will not eat in student cafeterias today, too. They refuse to express their confidence in the LC of this republic by accepting, while the Montenegrin LC Central Committee is in session, recommendations that they continue to take food today, which were made by the LC University Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of the Veljko Vlahovic University and the aktivs of the student accommodation quarters. Students will boycott food until demands they made at the Titograd meeting and numerous gatherings that followed are fulfilled.

The students are demanding from the Montenegrin Assembly and from the republican executive council to make specific decisions to improve students' standard of living and to reconsider circumstances under which force was used by the security organs at the Titograd

meeting. They also demand the attribution of specific responsibility to Miljan Radovic, Vidoje Zarkovic, Josip Vrhovec, and Stane Dolanc.

These demands by the students and working people of the Veljko Vlahovic University, which were submitted to members of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee today, express a lack of confidence in the leaderships of the sociopolitical and state organizations. Because of this, an immediate assessment, without any exceptions or delay—even if this means recalling them—is demanded.

A decision on the vote of confidence, as stated, must be made through a procedure that will ensure openness and argumentation in the discussion and secrecy in the decisionm..king.

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC CC Resumes Session

LD1510112488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0832 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Summary] Sarajevo, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—The plenary session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee resumed work this morning in Sarajevo. "Apart from preparations for the 17th session, the republican LC Central Committee will today consider the renewal of its own composition and of its Presidium, and some other cadre issues."

Muhic Opens Session

LD1410150388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0842 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—By the fast resolution of current questions we can be in the position to stop the erosion of intranational relations and the creation of a dangerous delusion that an individual can be saved only by unity within his or her nation. This was stressed by Dr Fuad Muhic in the opening speech at the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee session which began this morning in Sarajevo.

This party forum is discussing the current question of intranational relations in the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The basis for today's discussion is the material that the working group has prepared on this topic. This document is the synthesis of opinions of the broader party rank and file in which the dominant position is that despite excessive situations, the intranational relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina are basically good. The Central Committee will today consider criteria for cadre renewal in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, and will hear a report on cadre renewal in the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee and its Presidium.

'Dramatic National Conflict' Viewed

LD1410233088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2210 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Sarajevo, October 14 (TANJUG)—The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina said at its session here today that the relations between nations and nationalities in this Yugoslav republic are stable, notwithstanding individual excesses.

But Chairman of the Central Committee's Ideological Commission Fuad Muhic warned in his introductory remarks at the session that "there can be no peace for Yugoslavia as long as a dramatic national conflict is gaining momentum in one of its regions (Province of Kosovo) and threatening to turn into a tragedy."

"It is only by a quicker settlement of vital questions that we may be able to prevent an explosion of inter-nationality relations and creation of a dangerous illusion that an individual can only be saved through the concord inside his own nation," he said.

Dr Muhic noted that after Tito's death "almost nobody feels obliged to establish the credentials of his policy before Yugoslavia as a whole." Instead, "all outside remarks are being received as interference in internal affairs and the public are witnessing continuous 'skirmishes' between the various republican and provincial leaderships." This is a result "of their power to keep under effective control all the media in the area where they have influence" and this is why "Yugoslavia's communications system has broken down" said Dr Muhic.

Member of the Presidency of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee Nijaz Durakovic informed the Central Committee about a considerable number of telegrams received upholding the statement made by President of the LCY Central Committee Presidency Stipe Suvar at yesterday's session of the Presidency. Suvar objected to the Serbian party leadership's failure to react to the attacks on the late President Josip Broz Tito.

Speaking in the debate at today's session Izet Mehinagic asked what the attacks on Suvar meant and urged the Central Committee to express full support to the president of the Yugoslav party Presidency.

Renovica Announces Resignation From LCY CC

LD1410202288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Sarajevo, Oct 14 (TANJUG)—Member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency Milanko Renovica has announced his resignation, President of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina Abdulah Mutapcic stated today.

At a meeting of the Communist Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina Central Committee, Mutapcic said that some basic party organizations, municipal committees and meetings of other Bosnia-Hercegovina socio-political organizations demanded that Renovica be called to account for his work in the LCY Central Committee Presidency, engagement in the resolution of the Kosovo tragedy, as well as for the building of a villa in the Adriatic resort of Neum and the reconstruction of the family's house on a mountain resort near Sarajevo.

Renovica is the third member of the Yugoslav Central Committee Presidency to resign his post this autumn. Resignations were also submitted by Bosko Krunic (Vojvodina), who succeded Renovica as president of the LCY Central Committee Presidency and held the post until last May, and Franc Setinc (Slovenia).

Today's session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee proposed the forming of a party working group to determine the responsibility of the Central Committee members who own villas in Neum, so that the truth in the Neum affair can finally come out. The Yugoslav media have in recent months written a lot about the malversations in the construction of the Neum villas.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina party Presidency today also launched the initiative for replacing one-third of the 13-member forum and announced the replacement of a third of the members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee.

Later at today's session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee, Sarajevo party organization President Nenad Guzina asked to be relieved of his duty as member of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists. He said he was doing this because he felt full responsibility for the work and activities of the republican party Presidency.

Further Report

LD1410174688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—Milanko Renovica has announced that he will tender his resignation as member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

This was stated today by Abdulah Mutapcic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium, at a session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee during his speech in connection with the preparations of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee. Various meetings at basic organizations, municipal committees, and other sociopolitical organizations demanded that Milanko Renovica be held accountable for his work in the Presidium, his involvement in the situation in Kosovo, the building of a weekend house in Neum, the rebuilding of his family home, as well as for some other issues.

As far as Renovica's ideopolitical responsibility and the cogency and the grounds for the criticism are concerned, this must be established in keeping with the LCY statute, in the appropriate organ of which he is a member.

Radojcic Urges Resignation of Istuk

LD1510144788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1240 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Summary] Sarajevo, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—Miroslav Radojcic, taking part in the discussion at the session today of the LC of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Central Committee, said that it is a good thing that Milanko Renovica has tendered his resignation. However, he believes that LCY Central Committee member Hrvoje Istuk should do the same. This would be a good thing for the LC, he said, challenging Istuk's statement during the session that he is not responsible for anything, and that he legally constructed a villa in Neum, although he did take advantage of a loan under exceptionally favorable terms.

LC Session Meets on 1st Day

LD1610015288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0921 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—Only with the urgent solution of the basic existential issues of the working class and other strata of the population will we be able to prevent the erosion of intranational relations and the creation of the dangerous illusion that the individual can only be saved by harmony within his own nation. This was stated by Dr Fuad Muhic, chairman of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Commission for Ideological and Theoretical Work, in his introductory speech at today's session of the Central Committee of the LC of that republic. This party forum is considering the topical issues of intranational relations in the socialist republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The basis for today's debate, in addition to the introductory speech, is also the material on this topic which in the past few days has been the subject of the polling of the broad party grassroots, taking as the starting point the stance that intranational relations in this republic are, despite individual excesses, still stable.

Dr Muhic first stated that the economic and social crisis could have caused the revival of the ideology of "national salvation" in Bosnia-Hercegovina too, but the nature of national coexistence in this republic has not responded to the calls for national rallying. He said such slogans as "Muslims rally round," "Croats rally round," "Serbs rally round," regardless of whether they were coming from nationalistic circles in other environments or were encouraged by nationalists within Bosnia-Hercegovina itself, had no chance of success. Above all, he said, this is because of the foundations of coexistence

which are rooted in the national liberation struggle and in the awareness of the people and the traditional and ethnic ideas and customs of working people and citizens. Thus, the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC has long been resolutely opposing the demand for establishing "national institutions" in Bosnia-Hercegovina, or branch offices of headquarters already existing outside the republic.

Dr Fuad Muhic then emphasized that there cannot be peace and calm for the whole of Yugoslavia while in one of its parts the drama of national confrontation is flaring up and threatening to turn into a tragedy of incalculable proportions. Such is the situation in Kosovo, he said, and its basic causes lie in the independence of the bureaucratic structure in that province, the destruction of the bases for national coexistence, and the loss of control over the available material resources from the Yugoslav fund for underdeveloped areas. This has led to inefficiency of the institutions of the system, a nonfunctioning relationship between the organs of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the Socialist Republic of Serbia with regard to joint performance, and the gradual countermanding of the mechanism of the legal state.

This suspension of the legal mechanisms has been contributed to be the legal and practical inability of the organs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia to have any effect on Kosovo within the framework of the republic as a united legal whole, said Muhic. He added that the constitutional changes in Serbia must be an important factor in stabilizing social and national relations, not only in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and in its provinces, but also in Yugoslavia as a whole.

Speaking about the present economic juncture in our country and republic, Dr Muhic said that communists must have maximum sensitivity to the justified dissatisfaction of working people and citizens, particularly veterans who are particularly sensitive to our crisis. Stating that not every dissatisfaction is destructive, he considered that individual and mass expressions of dissatisfaction can be a creative factor in the further discovery and realization of the possibilities of our socialism. The best way of eliminating dissatisfaction is to remove the causes, and those parts of the leadership and individuals who are no longer capable of meeting this highest political and moral commitment.

Dr Muhic then said that since the death of Tito and the disappearance of a strong revolutionary authority, virtually no one feels the need to legitimize his own policies before the whole of Yugoslavia. Instead of this, all observations, even those well-intentioned, are taken as interference in internal affairs and the public witness the constant bickering of republican leaderships, particularly through the newspapers.

Thanks to the ability of these leaderships to effectively control all the public information media in the domain over which their influence extends, the disintegration of the united Yugoslav system of communications has ensued. The imperative that, literally, the only real task is to finish off the indicted dissenter still surpasses and drowns out the increasingly frequent demands for establishing real Yugoslav interests.

Muhic went on to say that it is in this light that we should also see the meaning of those orientations which consider that the genuine popular will can only be recognized today through its manifestational forms such as rallies and meetings. Adding that in this republic a stance has been adopted by the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium on this which was supported by the grassroots, Muhic said that forms of national rallying have spread, which has resulted in pronounced aggressiveness and extreme demands at these meetings calling for the overthrow of the legal constitutional order.

Speaking about the theories of danger to individual nations and nationalities in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dr Muhic said that no investigation has provided evidence of this, and he quoted material which indicates with a number of facts that such interpretations are devoid of any real basis.

Milan Uzelac said at today's session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee that the issue of intranational relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina is one of the very important points of departure from which it is possible to evaluate the most exacerbated problems of the country and the republic and to make decisions on them. The ideas exist, Uzelac said, that because Bosnia-Hercegovina is not a national republic and because of the multinational structure of its organs and forums, there is no basis for the national-republican bureaucracy to be a source of nationalism. According to these ideas, only the classical sources and exponents of nationalism and its importation from outside are dangerous.

The truth is, Uzelac said, that here we not infrequently defend usurpation and lawlessness such as the Agrokomerc case and other things under national trappings. The truth is that our bureaucracy also readily nationalizes its biography and its career. The truth is that monopolies in cadre policy are espoused on the grounds of the need for the protection of the structure, including the national structure, said Uzelac among other things. [passage omitted]

In the discussion—in which, among others, Smajo Beslija, Halid Rakovac, Bogosav Glagojevic, Tahir Mahmutovic, and Rasim Grbic took part—it was assessed that intranational relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina are stable and that with the exception of a few individual cases, there have been no organized attempts to disrupt this stability. [passage omitted]

Milan Daljevic is encouraged and pleased, he said, by the fact that in a period of cooling national relations, in Bosnia-Hercegovina there is ever more progressive Yugoslavism, and he called for such people to be elected

more boldly than hitherto to suitable positions, regardless of their nationality. In his view, it would be useful to see whether the Agrokomerc affair has had a negative effect on intranational relations here—something not mentioned in the material for this plenum. Not underestimating nationalism, Daljevic advocated the primacy of class in the LC.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, which is examining current issues of intranational relations in Sarajevo, at the suggestion of its working group today did not adopt the usual planned conclusions. [Passage omitted: the discussion was considered routine; rewritten and expanded stances to be offered to the Presidium for discussion; Nijaz Durakovic closed the morning session, saying many telegrams had been received in support of Suvar's speech at the LCY Central Committee Presidium session]

This afternoon the session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee will examine, among other things, the preparations for the coming 17th session of the LCY Central Committee.

Milanko Renovica has announced that he will submit his resignation as member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. This was stated by Abdulah Mutapcic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium at today's session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, in a report in connection with the preparations for the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee.

At individual meetings in basic organizations, municipal committees, and meetings of other sociopolitical organizations, there have been calls for calling Milanko Renovica to account for his work in the Presidium, for his involvement in the Kosovo issue, for the construction of a weekend house in Neum and the reconstruction of his family accomodation, and of certain other questions.

Mutapcic added: As far as his ideopolitical responsibility is concerned and the argument and basis for criticism, this must be established in accordance with the LCY statute, the appropriate organs of which he is a member.

Mutapcic went on to say: We have resolutely supported that the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee should open up a process of cadre renewal in the LCY Central Committee and carry out cadre renewal in the LCY Central Committee Presidium. [passage omitted]

The Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee has set in motion the initiative for renewal of one-third of its present 13 members said Dr Ivan Cvitkovic, secretary of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium, in his introductory speech on cadre renewal in this Central Committee and its Presidium. At the same time, he informed the Central committee that members of the Bosnia- Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium Jerko Biradvica and Alija Isakovic have submitted requests to retire because they are eligible.

Dr Ivan Cvitkovic also said that Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium assessed that it should propose cadre renewal in the Central Committee as well, noting that according to statutes, the replacement of one-third of its members is possible. He added that, if the Central Committee approves this, the renewal of a part of its composition will be carried out by secret ballot at the next session, by which time a list of several candidates will be drawn up. He said that it can be expected that a number of members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee will seek replacement on their own initiative.

Dr Cvitkovic then informed the Central Committee that the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium has concluded that it should also propose to this forum the formation of a working group for establishing the ideopolitical responsibility of Central Committee members for their possibly illegal activity and morally-politically unacceptable actions in connection with the Neum affair. [passage omitted]

Nenad Guzina, president of the Sarajevo LC City Central Committee Presidium, at the session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee—which is still underway this evening—expressed his desire to be relieved of his duties as member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium. He explained this by citing his increasing number of positions so that, he said, "something always has to suffer." He added that he also feels full responsibility for the work and activity of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium, its successes and failures. [passage omitted: Desimir Medjovic calls for cadre renewal throughout the republic]

Mladen Oljaca said this evening that the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, judging by its activities, could have prepared better for the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee; this is illustrated by today's symposium-style discussion of intranational relations, he said. In such a situation, in his view, the members of the LCY Central Committee from Bosnia-Hercegovina should prepare well and at the 17th session should present the stances of the republican Central Committee as voiced today. This would avoid the 17th session being a failure like the recent joint session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Presidium of the provincial committee in Pristina, where instead of including all federal officials in the session, the entire leadership of the province participated and the sessions were not conducted properly. As a result of this, the sessions were virtually deadlocked.

A total of 36 speakers took part in today's work of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee in Sarajevo. The session continues tomorrow.

LC Session Meets on 2d Day

LD1610182988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1142 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—On the 2d day of its proceedings Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee resumed the debate on the preparations for the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee in which 28 members took part by noon today. The characteristic of all the debate statements so far is that there is concern for the serious situation in this country and especially for the federalization of the LCY. [passage omitted]

Dr Zdravko Grebo said that we are coming to the plenary meeting today, as indeed to the LCY Central Committee session the day after tomorrow, without any in depth analyses of the causes of the current difficult situation and—and this is particularly bad—without a specific vision as to how to proceed. He wonders how unity in the LC can be achieved under the conditions of rampant bureaucracy and nationalism. What is worrying here is not so much the fact that we are dealing with efforts for different directions of the development of socialism in our country than the fact that these concepts are based on homogenized nations. This is placing the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC in a special position.

Speaking of the current confusion, Grebo asked whether what is happening is the struggle for power in our country, and there are people who think that. He drew attention to the fact that the materials and speeches at this plenum do not refer to the responsibility of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee for the situation in our country, and especially in Bosnia-Hercegovina, although most scandals have been uncovered in this republic. In this context he remarked that it is not true that Bosnia-Hercegovina alone is characterized by scandals because in other environments, which also have their scandals, there are no slogans referring to their own "Neums" and "Agrokomerces" and the like.

Grebo expressed his surprise that the scandals have not yet been sorted out, although the names and surnames are common knowledge. Why do the appropriate organs not do their job? Perhaps the people do not know what they want, or is it that they know why they do not want some people? If the reason for this hesitation is the fear for unity then the life of half truths and, in falsehoods must end in anger, Grebo said.

Dr Zdravko Grebo said that the cadre renewal line has to be drawn today, and that the people who are leaving today must bear their share of the responsibility. For the next session, the 19th session, of the republican Central Committee, high quality analyses have to be prepared about the cadres and cadre renewal instead of haggling about quantifications of renewing one third, or one fourth, or whatever. [passage omitted: darinka djuraskovic says renovica should not be the only one to leave because he is not the only one who has a villa in Neum]

Having complimented Belgrade for the very good organization of the LCY congresses, Dragutin Kosovac suggested that the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee propose to the LCY Central Committee that the 14th congress be held in Sarajevo. Only in East European countries, Kosovac said, are congresses held in the capital city, whereas for well-known reasons after Zagreb and Ljubljana the practice was abandoned of holding the congresses outside the capital. True, he recalled, when the Skenderija Center was completed and when a federal LC congress was to be held in it, it was said that the comrades in Serbia then had some difficulties and that the holding of the LCY congress would signify support for them, so the LCY congress was not then held in Sarajevo. Kosovac stressed that his proposal does not mean that in the future federal party congresses should be held exclusively in the capital cities of the republics and provinces. [passage omitted: Radojcic says that Istuk should resign as well]

Vlasta Joksimovic suggested that all members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee and also the LCY Central Committee members from this republic should fill in a property questionnaire, and that those who have taken out loans should be relieved of membership of top party organs.

If it is true that social funds have been filtered into villas, then the people who built them should immediately be expelled from the party and the villas be confiscated, Razija Jovanovic stressed. If what the press is saying is half true then it is a shame for one to sit with such members in the Central Committee, she said, suggesting that everything should be checked and facts be established.

Recently many things have been moved in a negative direction, Abdulah Mutapcic said in his winding-up statement, which requires urgent moves to be made. We must resolutely go for three reforms, we must be among the working people and citizens. As the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC we must do everything for disputes and confrontations on the eve of the 17th LCY Central Committee session to be stopped. We must also resist the pressure directed against the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Mutapcic suggested that following the 17th session one should go among party grassroots with the LCY Central Committee and Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee documents so that the action can be launched.

Speaking of Neum, which was the place most frequently mentioned during this plenum, Mutapcic suggested that a Central Committee working group be set up that would speak with the people whose names had been mentioned and with those who have their villas in that locality.

During the next session this working group should submit its assessments and proposals. This should be done in the municipal committees too.

In conclusion Mutapcic endorsed Dragutin Kosavac's proposal that the 14th LCY Congress be held in Sarajevo, and that the preparations, combined with the preparations for the 10th Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Congress, be held in that direction.

On Ivan Cvitkovic's proposal a working group has been formed to establish individual responsibility for the construction of the villas in Neum. Dragutin Kosovac was elected its chairman.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee then discussed the report by the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium on the initiative to establish the responsibility of LCY Central Committee member Munir Mesihovic.

Mesihovic took the floor, and in a speech lasting 2 hours he spoke of the consequences of the Agrokomerc scandal, saying by and large that his responsibility in that did not differ from the responsibility of other Presidium members and of a number of other senior officials in this republic, with the exception of those directly involved in the scandal. [passage omitted: Mesihovic presents his personal case in his defense]

Following Munir Mesihovic's fairly long statement several Central Committee members asked to be given the floor, including Nikola Stojanovic, Mato Andric, Dusko Zgonjanin and Josip Lovrenovic who referred to those details in Mesihovic's statement which are linked with their names. It transpired from what Zgonjanin said that it was most difficult for the truth about the scandal to reach the legal institutions of the system at the time when Munir Mesihovic was head of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency.

Nijaz Durakovic stressed that Mesihovic's statement demonstrated to what extent before and after the Agrokomerc case the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency was an alienated center of power. This confirms the correctness of the commitment to democratize the cadre policy in this republic. Of course, Munir Mesihovic feels badly, Durakovic said, because he probably even now believes in the policy pursued at the time. However, this policy, cadre appointments, and decisionmaking have been superseded by the times of democratic changes.

Zdravko Grebo amplified Durakovic's remarks, saying that it is sad and bad the way cadre policy is conducted in a feudal environment, as he put it. The essential thing now is not to find out the exact details of everything, and who has been victorious over whom; the essential thing is that we have called it quits on a policy which has produced the results we know all about, he said. In this connection Enes Gotovusa suggested that those Central Committee members mentioned in connection with the Agrokomerc scandal should reflect, in the context of the cadre changes, on whether they should stay in this organ.

Although Ivan Cvitkovic, who was chairing the session, on several occasions warned the Central Committee members to stick to the agenda, the discussion again turned to the wider question of responsibility and relations in the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC.

Nikola Stojanovic did not agree with the assessment of the work of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency as provided by Nijaz Durakovic, but the latter replied, saying that the claim about alienation can refer also to other organs in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Mladen Oljaca immediately endorsed the working group's proposals about Munir Mesihovic, but he asked that after this discussion the full truth be established about what was happening in Velika Kladusa, because Central Committee members still do not have it. No one yet knows accurately how the top people in the republic and those in the federation behaved, Oljaca said. He also denounced the closed sessions of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium attended by nonmembers. If they are LCY Central Committee members, no matter what people with high-sounding names they may be, let them come to the Central Committee session and not to that of its executive-political organ, Oljaca stressed.

Oljaca pointed out that the consequences of closed sessions, mentioning the cases when they discussed Avdo Humo, Hajro Kapetanovic, and Osman Karabegovic. [passage omitted]

Taking the floor again, Munir Mesihovic reiterated that he was under terrible pressure to resign his membership of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, although even then he was convinced that he was not culpable. Now he is sorry to have done that especially because he did not know what was going to be said about him in the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly. On the eve of the session the material by the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, which he read, did not mention his mistakes. Only when he was in the Assembly did he learn what was attributed to him. Mesihovic replied to the debate statements made by his former colleagues by concluding that he had never erred against the laws of this country. [transmission interrupted, TANJUG part 13 and any subsequent takes not received]

Appointments, Retirements Announced

LD1510214288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1754 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Summary] Sarajevo, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—During the afternoon session, the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee unanimously approved a report by the working group of the Central Committee Presidium to launch

the initiative to investigate the ideopolitical responsibility of Munir Mesihovic as a member of the LCY Central Committee in the case of the Agrokomerc affair.

Cedo Kisic, director of the Institute for Intranational Relations, has been relieved of his duties due to his retirement. Dr Ibrahim Bakic has been appointed acting director.

Danilo Bilanovic has been appointed to the vacant post of president of the commission for the history of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Plenum Ends

LD1510220588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2105 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Sarajevo, Oct 15 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists must resolutely embark upon political, economic and party reforms and Communists must be active among the workers and citizens to this end, President of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina Central Committee Presidency Abdulah Mutapcic said this evening, at the close of a two-day session of the highest republican party body.

Mutapcic said that the Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina must do everything in order that a stop be put to disputes and confrontations prior to the 17th session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee, which will be held in Belgrade on Monday.

Mutapcic invited the members of the republican party to counter pressures directed against President of the LCY Central Committee Presidency Stipe Suvar. He proposed that, after the 17th LCY Central Committee session, the leadership documents be submitted to the membership and a drive be launched to implement the conclusions.

The session upheld the proposal that the 14th LCY Congress be held in Sarajevo, capital of the Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina Central Committee decided that the ideo-political responsibility be determined of member of the LCY Central Committee from Bosnia-Hercegovina Munir Mesihovic for the Agrokomerc scandal. The Agrokomerc unbacked promissory notes scandal was the worst financial scandal in Yugoslavia and involved the embezzlement of 900 million dollars. At the time of its outbreak, Mesihovic was president of the republican Presidency.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina party Central Committee proposed that the republican party Central Committee form a working group to investigate remarks voiced publicly by citizens regarding the property of several republican officials.

Mostar SUBNOR Message Supports Suvar

LD1410211088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1557 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Mostar, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the SUBNOR [Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia] Municipal Committee in Mostar today addressed a telegram to the Bosnia and Hercegovina LC Central Committee demanding that the highest Communist organ in Bosnia and Hercegovina, which is meeting today, should render full support for Dr Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in his, as they say, honest, uncompromising, and responsible work as a Communist to overcome the difficult political and economic situation in which our country finds itself.

This stand of the SUBNOR leadership in the Hercegovina town follows as a reaction to the lack of unity manifested during yesterday's session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, which was devoted to attacks on the personality and achievements of Josip Broz Tito.

The telegram of the Presidium of the SUBNOR organization in Mostar criticizes Slobodan Milosevic due to some of the stands he displayed at that session.

The Presidium of the SUBNOR Municipal Committee in Mostar believes that Stipe Suvar, with his committed work as president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, deserves the full confidence of war veterans, Communists, and all people in our country

Croatian LC CC Session on 'Difficult Situation'

LD1710011688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1302 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 14 October (TANJUG)—The difficult economic and social situation which our society is in cannot be resolved by partial or separate programs, but only on a united Yugoslav level with accepted actions and initiatives which are an expression of the will of the working class and all our nations and nationalities.

Speaking at the start of the 19th session of the Croatian LC Central Committee today, the president of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee, Stanko Stojcevic, assessed that in this way the authority of the LCY can be renewed as well as that of the institutions of the system, an essentially different political climate could be established, and the political stability of the country restored.

Members of the Croatian LC Central Committee began their plenary session with a discussion of the immediate tasks of the Croatian LC in implementing the stances of the first LCY conference and on the proposed stances for the 17th LCY Central Committee session. Participating in the work of the session were members of the LCY

Central Committee from the Croatian LC, including President of the LCY Central Committee Presidium Stipe Suvar and member of the Presidium Ivica Racan.

In his introductory speech Stanko Stojcevic spoke on four basic themes. First he spoke of efforts to realize the established framework for economic reform in Yugoslavia and Croatia. He linked this to the process of social reform and reform of the LC itself, and he paid particular attention to intranational relations, which are today threatened by nationalism. Stojcevic ended by speaking about cadre policy and issues of responsibility, which he linked to a strengthening of confidence in the institutions of our political system.

The first conference of the LCY marked a definitive ideological and political break with the concept of statist and bureaucratic socialism. The bureaucratic and statist concept and its practice has led our socialist society into the most serious crisis since the war, Stojcevic assessed at the start of his speech.

This crisis has come to a head. In defending their own positions and power, the bureaucratic and statist forces threaten to lead the whole of society into disaster. And in the LC the proponents of a dogmatic stance and statist bureaucratic monopoly are renewing old debates and conflicts just as if the first LCY conference did not take place. The 17th LCY Central Committee session must represent a break with the current situation and must, by resolute actions, reaffirm the course of the first LCY conference. In this respect, there must be specific differentiation and all those who are blocking action must be removed from the LC. We will break down the prevailing resistance and blockades most effectively by means of concrete actions and results in implementing economic and social reform, in which our unity is built up and our capability to act is strengthened.

Stojcevic then turned to the starting of concrete action and said that it is vital to understand that in the sphere of economic reform we ourselves can do much in the Socialist Republic of Croatia without waiting for the necessary measures of common Yugoslav economic policy. He cited the most important actions through which Croatia is making a concrete contribution to the unburdening of industry and called on communists to strenthen overall social pressure by organized socialist forces in this area.

The overall effects of this unburdening of industry come to about 600 billion dinars, which is equivalent to the net accumulation of Croatian industry in the first 9 months of this year. [passage omitted: costs of administration and bureaucracy must be substantially reduced]

[Transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts 3 to 6 not received]

The reform of the LC must follow the path of real democratization and debureaucratization of the LC. A united point of view has been achieved on this, said Stojcevic, who assessed that initial results in the democratization of internal relations in the Croatian LC still have not enabled the most advanced parts of the working class, the creators of material and spiritual values, to have a vital influence on LC policy. Democratization in the LC has remained under the domination of leaderships. The real strength of renewal of the LC is to be found among people whose ideas and projects are confirmed with concrete results in implementing the Yugoslav strategy for a way out of the crisis. The democratization process must strengthen the LC as an organization and essentially contribute to the individual subjective influence of each of its members.

Openness in the work of the LC leaderships is a vital dimension of the democratization in society. This is a vital precondition for communication, for restoring the confidence of people in our activities and to mobilize them. In this connection, something should be said also about public criticism of individuals by name and the escalation of this practice, said Stojcevic.

He feels that public criticisms are an expression of insufficiently developed democratic relations in society and of insufficient democracy within the party; as such they are an expression of distrust in the leadership and the leaders. On the other hand, individuals and groups wish to exploit this as a means for political struggle and for settling accounts. We must not allow unreasoned labelling, judgments with no right to defense, the stifling of critical ideas or the right to one's own opinion, nor the sowing of suspicion and the creation of discord to become a part of our political life, concluded Stanko Stojcevic. He reminded the members of the Croatian LC Central Committee that in the preparations for this session there had been broad consultation and discussions among the party membership in the republic.

Before the start of the discussion, member of the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium Mladen Zuvela briefly explained the criticisms and proposals which had been put forward in broad discussions in the organizations and organs of the Croatian LC with regard to the proposed final document for the 17th LCY Central Committee session. After saying that the 15 items of the proposed document include all our crucial current problems, Zuvela spoke of the criticisms which had been made during the discussion of the final documents for the forthcoming 17th session. [passage omitted: the proposed document is not specific enough and contains repetitions of stances adopted earlier; repetitions should be left out and the priorities for LCY action stressed]

Zuvela explained that the criticisms and proposals from the Croatian LC had been sent to a working group which had prepared the final document. They were taken into account to a certain extent and included in the final proposal, but a number of issues remain which still have to be discussed.

One of these issues is accountability for the situation prevailing in the country. No one can run away from this accountability; it is being demanded for all people at all levels of society. Zuvela paid particular attention to public criticisms by name and said that these should not be unreasoned and that the process of establishing responsibility must take place in accordance with the LC statute.

The planned changes in the composition of the LCY Central Committee, Zuvela continued, must not be carried out only on the basis of formal criteria, but rather this should depend on the work and results achieved by each member and his attitude to the tasks which he has undertaken. All the Central Committees, including ours, must assess their own work and establish responsibility for the realization of the stances of the 13th LCY Congress.

We must take a clearer position with regard to the justified dissatisfaction which is increasingly being expressed at various meetings and strikes. The organs and organizations of the LC must understand in a responsible way and resolve the issues raised at meetings by working people and citizens. It should be quite clearly stated that gatherings cannot be a substitute for the institutions of the system. On the contrary, they should motivate the institutions to act more effectively. At the same time, through political action, political gatherings on a national basis must be prevented, as must all instances of the expression of antisocialist, destructive and inhuman activity, and everything which causes discord and damages brotherhood and unity.

Finally, Zuvela explained the proposal for two additional items in the final document of the 17th LCY Central Committee session. The first relates to things the LCY must do in defense of the name and work of Josip Broz Tito. The defense of Tito is also a resolute defense of the revolution, explained Zuvela. The second additional item relates to the obligation to send the final document to all LCY members to be verified, which would include the whole LCY membership in these actions. In this way, the membership will take a more active role as the sole real eliminator of the differences which are occurring today.

The first participant in the discussion, LCY Central Committee member Iyo Druzic, stressed that he would speak above all about issues connected with activities in the Croatian LC. He assessed that the Croatian LC Central Committee had acted correctly in taking as the basis for the program of its current activity the 13th LCY Congress and the 1st LCY Conference as a Yugoslav platform, and that it had resisted the deluges and pressures of various national programs. Druzic stated that the priority task was to form a united front of socialist forces and to wage a resolute struggle against nationalism. Member of the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium Celestin Sardelic and LCY Central Committee member Marko Lolic also spoke of the need for a resolute struggle against nationalism and its manifestations in Croatia, stressing that communists and leaderships must do this in their own environments.

Druzic assessed that in Croatia Croatian and Serbian nationalism are not visibly present in the public sphere or in aggressive forms. However, speaking metaphorically, Druzic compared the situation to "cars which are warming up in a closed garage, with their engines running." In this respect Croatian nationalism is hidden, since perhaps it considers that time is on its side, that current processes and disintegration in Yugoslavia are working in its favor.

Nationalism was and remains the meeting place for all conservative and reactionary forces, said Sardelic, pointing out the essential need to eradicate it "on the spot." In Sardelic's opinion, Croatian nationalism is manifesting itself in new forms, through attempts to rehabilitate key personalities from the Mas-Pok [mass movement in Croatia at start of the seventies] in other environments, since they are not able to do this in Croatia, for example, in the area of language, and through attempts to use the situation in Kosovo and connected with Kosovo for spreading an anti-Serbian mood. At the same time, there are attempts to misuse events in Kosovo to inflame Serbian nationalism in Croatia, said Sardelic, adding that this has been developed into the idea that for Serbia the revolution was in vain that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, led by Tito, followed a policy contrary to the interests of the Serbian nation.

Any disruption of intranational relations in Croatia, said Sardelic, would have serious consequences not just in this republic but for the political stability of the whole of Yugoslavia, and this is why such attempts must be resolutely prevented.

Marko Lolic, stressing the need for responsibility in public speaking—which is even greater since the leadership discussions are also broadcast on television—assessed that there are an increasing number of statements where individuals are addressing "their own public," attacking others and defending one's own at any price. [passage omitted]

Turning to the question of stances on meetings and mass gatherings, Lolic stressed that, while respecting obligations arising from the justified dissatisfaction and criticism of people, crude abuse of these gatherings, demands for changing Yugoslavia, poisoning intranational relations, and other hostile slogans should be unambiguously rejected.

The President of the Croatian Federation of War Veterans Associations [SUBNOR], Gojko Tintor, said that the 200,000 surviving veterans in Croatia call on the LCY Central Committee at its 17th session above all to preserve its unity of ideology and action. In this respect, the veterans expect it to be a historical session. [passage omitted: remarks by Marijan Kalanj and Boris Milat]

Josip Vrhovec began his speech by warning that the LC was facing a very serious battle. If we do not halt the political crisis we will also lose the battle in the economic sphere, said Vrhovec, stressing the links between the tasks of social and economic reform. The third reform, that of the LC, is vital to enable the LCY to carry out its historical task. Fundamental to this battle is the further democratization of the LCY. This is also vital as a foundation for the functioning of democratic centralism. [passage omitted]

Addressing those who had criticised him publicly by name, Vrhovec cited an issue raised at a meeting in Vukovar. He energetically denied that he had said that we should not have defended Yugoslavia from the occupiers in 1941. I said that the national liberation struggle was not a struggle for the defense of the old Yugoslavia, but a struggle against the occupying forces and also for national liberation and the creation of a new Yugoslavia, said Vrhovec. He had presented criticisms of his speech in Benkovec 5 years ago to the LCY CC Presidium and that organ had unanimously assessed that the speech by Vrhovec was in line with LCY policy and that the campaign against this speech was against LCY policy.

Vrhovec also answered accusations that, as head of the organizing committee of the university games [in] Zagreb he had allegedly "robbed Yugoslavia." The organs of the Social Accountancy Service are still examining the accounts for this, and the principles for financing this event were also applied for the Olympic games in Sarajevo as well as some other sporting competitions in Belgrade and elsewhere, and to the celebrations of the 200th anniversary of Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic. Furthermore, on the organizing committee were representatives from all our republics and provinces, most of whom were prominent social and political workers, and the financing was agreed to by the Federal Secretariat for Finance, said Vrhovec.

Dusan Dragosavac said that the main speech and the course of this session confirmed that the Croatian LC was distancing itself from nationalist programs and showed that it was continuing the course of the Yugoslav workers' movement from socialist and Marxist program positions, with regard both to the nationalist and social issue. Speaking about phenomena which were unacceptable from the point of view of this course of Yugoslav communists, Dragosavac stated that together with normal differences and polemics, many intrigues were being introduced into the LC, and national statehoods and republican homogenizations were being emphasized. [passage omitted]

Ante Milovic called for rationalization in all sectors of society, from the state to industry, and a general effort in the programs for increasing production. Ivo Latin said that he was encouraged by today's discussion, but he sharply condemned the settling of accounts on the streets, banners, public criticism of individuals, the lynch mob atmosphere and, as he put it, the putsch, which are increasingly being used as threats. Nikola Lapov noted the seriousness of the situation that society was in and asked whether everyone in society and in the LC was truly working for a way out of the crisis. If we had implemented all the stances which we have adopted in past years, we already would have gotten out of the crisis.

Lapov devoted a part of his speech to the attacks on the character and work of Josip Broz Tito. In his assessment, the attacks on Tito are needed only by those who wish to become leaders. The workers and the people do not approve of such attacks because they want a peaceful and successful Yugoslavia, which Tito fought for, said Lapov. [passage omitted]

Ognjen Krstulovic said that he would send a warning to Comrade Milosevic. [passage omitted] If Slobodan Milosevic continues as he has started, he will certainly not enter into legend, nor into the history of the Serbian nation, said Krstulovic.

Nikica Gabric spoke about the gatherings and the slogans which were to be seen at them. He said that to judge by all that he had seen on television and in the papers, he did not believe that the gatherings in Novi Sad and Titograd were spontaneous. One cannot escape the impression that there were putschist elements at those gatherings, said Gabric. [passage omitted] [transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts 25 and 26 not received] [passage omitted]

In the discussion it was underlined that the Croatian program for the more rapid material and social development of Kosovo would continue to be developed and strengthened, and there were also proposals for a series of improvements in the method of cooperation and assistance from Croatian industry to the socialist autonomous province of Kosovo.

Its realization will, as has been the case up to now, continue to be discussed regularly by the Crotian LC Central committee after analyses at 3-month periods.

The last item of today's session of the Croatian LC Central Committee was a discussion on the changes and amendments to the decision on the level and method of determining the membership fees for the Croatian LC. Because of high inflation, the rates by which the membership fee is determined in the Croatian LC have increased the burden of membership fees, objectively speaking, for those members who have average or even below-average incomes. For this reason, the rates were changed today so that for average personal incomes in the republic membership fees will be paid at a rate of 1.5 percent. Membership fees have also been coordinated with this rate for those who have lower or higher personal incomes. At the same time, it was proposed that the scale for paying party membership fees in the whole of the LCY should be changed in a similar way.

Zagreb Commander Says Army Not 'Arbitrator'

LD1510125488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1130 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Zagreb, Oct 15 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Armed Forces are the stable reliable of society and people and hence nobody should have any delusions of being able to remodel or crush Yugoslavia and its democracy, freedom, and the equality of nations and nationalities—Lt.-Gen. Martin Spegelj, commander of the Zagreb Army District, stressed today.

In addressing reserve officers, Lt.-Gen. Spegelj noted that the Army is not and cannot be an arbitrator above society and people, that it is not against constructive remarks and proposals for its work, but that it resolutely rejects the attacks aimed at incapacitating and breaking it.

Because of rough overall bureaucracy, usurping of powers and counter-revolution, not only in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, we have arrived at the point where many Yugoslavs these days wonder where are we headed to, Lt.-Gen. Spegelj cautioned. Obviously, blind euphoria must be halted, for what we need are "cool and clear" minds, added he.

Having assessed that the three essential reforms (economic, political, and party) are blocked by a lack of unity primarily between political factors, Lt.-Gen. Spegelj underscored that the competent institutions of state and society must take prompt but well-thought decisions for the reforms to be carried out.

Macedonian LC Central Committee Assembles

Convenes 14 Oct

LD1410142588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1306 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Skopje, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—At a session today the Macedonian LC Central Committee discussed the current ideopolitical situation in the country and in Macedonia. Jakov Lazaroski, president of the Macedonian LC Central Comittee Presidium, gave the opening speech. He also chaired the session. An assessment of the ideopolitical activity of the Macedonian LC and other sociopolitical organizations and organs in Macedonia in carrying out decisions of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee and the Yugoslav program on Kosovo was submitted by Mihail Danev, secretary of the Macedonian LC Central Committee, in his opening speech. Proposals regarding immediate tasks for the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee and criterion for cadre renewal in the LCY Central Committee are on the agenda.

Dusan Ckrebic, a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, is taking part in the session.

Danev Presents Report

LD1410194588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Skopje, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—In the period after the 16th LCY Central Committee session there has been an escalation of Albanian nationalism and separatism in Macedonia, Mihail Danev, secretary of the Presidium of the Macedonian LC Central Committee, said in an introductory report at today's session of the Macedonian LC Central Committee. This fact was borne out by recent hostile demonstrations in Kumanovo and Gostivar, as well as by other cases of hostile activity from stands of Albanian nationalism and separatism. This is a result, among other things, of collusion and the concerted efforts of Albanian nationalists and separatists in Macedonia and Kosovo with hostile Albanian emigres. This was encouraged by the attitude of nationalist paternalism toward Albanians in Macedonia on the part of nationalist circles, some scientific and cultural institutions, the information media, and individuals from Kosovo who are often helped and supported by the media in other parts of the country.

Nationalist paternalism is aimed at diverting the attention of the Yugoslav public from the problem of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, and at directing it at the allegedly unequal position of the Albanian nationality in Macedonia. The working people and citizens of Macedonia and the country are completely justified in reacting to this, Danev stated.

Lazoroski Supports LCY Stand

LD1610102288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1055 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Skopje, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—Opening the discussion on the current ideopolitical situation in the country and in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, Jakov Lazoroski, president of the LC of Macedonia Central Committee Presidium, made the assessment that the overlapping of the economic and social and political problems in the country require an urgent solution which must be preceded by resolute moves to coordinate assessments and stands throughout the LCY. This should be done so as to ensure unity in practical political action, especially since the pronounced differences and even confusion make the situation in the country a dramatic one and do not lead to a way out.

For this very reason, Lazaroski stressed, we have to accept "the direct tasks and activities of the LCY to overcome the unfavorable political-economic and social situations in the country" proposed for the 17th LCY Central Committee session which is preceded by the LC of Macedonia Central Committee session today as a specific preparation.

We are dutybound, stressed Lazoroski, to take measures rapidly to resolve daily problems, but particularly since we are the people most responsible for the solution of

strategic issues on which the future of the country and the prospects of socialist self-management depend. This is why our historical responsibility lies especially in carrying out the economic and political reform and the reform of the LC. The agreed deadlines have to be complied with despite the fact that life consists of an uninterrupted number of problems. For political leaderships in the country, the republics, and the provinces, this could be an historic sin or an historic chance for revolutionary self-confirmation.

Events in the country are developing so quickly and in such an undesired direction that we are simply forced to reexamine, discuss again, and improve our measures and activities because it is obvious that the LC, the working class in all progressive socialist forces, are facing crucial solutions. The political-security situation is getting worse and social tension is intensifying drastically; the revolt and the protest of the working class are being expressed publicly and in an increasingly massive way. Dissatisfaction and mistrust toward the leaderships are growing, especially because of the senseless extension of the Kosovo drama and of the danger that it might lead to rather serious intranational conflicts, which, together with the events which are shaking Yugoslavia, could have unforseeable consequences for its integrity, federal character, socialist self-management, and for the development and the leading role of the LCY.

Having made the assessment that in these conditions the 17th LCY Central Committee session is of exceptional importance in the efforts being made to stabilize the situation in the country—because in the current conditions political and social action is unfolding with great difficulty—Jakov Lazaroski stressed that the LCY must bear historic and specific responsibility for stabilization, but not only with appeals but through action relying on moral-political maturity and responsibility, genuine communist honesty and consistency, working class awareness and unity, and civic duties and patriotism. Alternatively chances will be seized by nationalism and other antisocialist forces. [passage omitted: 13th congress and 1st conference decisions are not being implemented]

Hesitation and various forms of obstruction in the implementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization, slackness in the implementation of the overall socialist reform and mistakes in controlling and implementing the development and the current economic policy persist. Even since the 16th LCY Central Commitee session, events have been moving in the direction of a worsening economic and political situation which has brought about a dramatic growth of dissatisfaction among the working class. The demands to improve the standard of living of the workers, ease the burden on the economy, settle the scores with bureaucratic statist structures, and efficiently resolve the Kosovo drama are put forward in a dramatic manner. It has been shown that the patience of the working class has reached its limits and that it refuses to tolerate any longer the inertia of appropriate organs and organizations, the office clerk mentality, bureaucratic usurpations, and unfair social differences.

Having stressed that such reaction by the working class, the working people, and the citizens is justified, Lazaroski pointed out that for this reason the LCY Central Committee Presidium has, in recent months, been discussing these questions daily, laying down specific stands and guidelines for ideopolitical action in new conditions. In this context he mentioned the stands to bring about unity and togetherness in the Socialist Republic of Serbia including changes to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, stands in relation to the work stoppages, meetings, implementation of the current economic policy, amendments to the SFRY Constitution, and the like.

However, in Lazaroski's assessment this was not enough to reduce the tension in the country, as demonstrated drastically by the events in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and in the Socialist Republic of Montenegro.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium, Lazaroski pointed out, made the assessment that the situation in Vojvodina was the result of obviously serious shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the organs of Vojvodina, a display of bureaucratic relations and methods of work, inadequate self-criticism of these organs and by some of their members, and of ignoring justified demands and criticism by the working people and citizens. The whole thing is made even more complicated by the fact that over a considerable period of time relations between the leaderships of the LC of Vojvodina and the LC of Serbia have been impaired, and because the established stands of the LCY Central Committee on the implementation of unity and togetherness have not been implemented.

Lazaroski then put forth the assessment of the LCY Central Committee Presidium—that the dissatisfaction of the working class, the working people, and citizens in the Socialist Republic of Montenegro was justified and was directed mainly against bureaucracy, social deformations, manipulations, abuses, and suppression of the rights of the working people and citizens.

In connection with these events the LC of Macedonia Central Committee Presidium has determined it assessments and stands along the line of the LCY stands, which have been made public. We have made the assessment, stressed Lazaroski, that dissatisfaction is justified, but we pointed out that to call attention to this fact is now sufficient without having to determine responsibility for the current nonimplementation of the justified demands, and without implementing vigorous action and urgent measures resulting in real changes. In this context we pointed out that it is indispensable to devise proper democratic ways and means leading to the consolidation

and stabilization of the situation within the framework of legal institutions of our political system and of the statutory norms. [passage omitted: Lazaroski describes the situation in Kosovo]

Speaking of the very difficult conditions and unfavorable economic trends in Macedonia, Lazaroski drew attention to the fact that the quality and quantity of the overall economic operations in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia are getting worse, and that the basic development target arising out of the republican development documents for this year are not being implemented. Despite the measures that have been taken regarding economic-financial consolidation this situation is not improving essentially. Earning capacity is being reduced, and relations within the income distribution system are becoming increasingly unfavorable—also, losses, claims, and the high rate of reciprocal indebtedness are mounting. Altogether this has an adverse impact on liquidity.

The political situation is getting worse because of the difficult employment problems, the drop in the standard of living, the high level of price rises and cost of living, and also because of the fact that average personal incomes in Macedonia are 30 percent below the Yugoslav average.

This situation is increasingly exacerbating the social tension in the Republic, said Lazaroski in conclusion. [TANJUG take 7 not received)

However, in some LC municipal organizations there has been a lack of continued and vigorous action in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism. For this very reason, stressed Danev, the LC action is meeting a resistance by individuals and groups who wish to preserve the privileges they have acquired unfairly. Furthermore, they are trying to cover up their responsibility for the state of intranational relations in Macedonia. In fact they are the biggest critics of the increasingly vigorous and persistent policy pursued by the LC of Macedonia, forgetting, as they do, their role and responsibility in creating the conditions for the spread of Albanian nationalism and separatism.

A united front of action by the Albanian nationality, the Macedonian nation, and the Turkish nationality in Macedonia has to be secured in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism against all other forms of nationalism. In this respect special responsibility must be borne by the communists who are Albanian nationals and who must be in the front ranks of the action. At the same time a vigorous struggle against other forms of nationalism and revenge-seeking is required.

In this context, Danev added that the justified indignation of communists and working people because of the persistence and escalation of Albanian nationalism and separatism cannot be described as being an anti-Albania bloc in the country. By the same token our open opposition to Albanian interference in the internal affairs of our country cannot be qualified as a negative or even as a negating attitude toward the Albanian nationality in the SFRY.

An escalation of Albanian nationalism and separatism has been evident in Macedonia in the period since the 16th session. This is the assessment made by Mihail Danev, secretary of the LC of Macedonia Central Committee Presidium, in his introductory report at the LC of Macedonia Central Committee session today. This has been confirmed by the recent hostile demonstrations in Kumanovo and Gostivar as well as by other manifestations of enemy activity from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism.

This, among other things, is the result of the links and joint operations between Albanian nationalists and separatists in Macedonia and in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo and the Albanian enemy emigration. This activity is helped by nationalistic paternalism toward the Albanians in Macedonia by nationalistic circles, certain scholarly and cultural institutions, public information media, and individuals from Kosovo who not infrequently are aided and abetted by media in other parts of the country, too.

This nationalistic paternalism is trying to divert the attention of the Yugoslav public from the problem of the Serb and Montenegrin emigration and channel it into the alleged inequality of the Albanian nationality in Macedonia. Working people and citizens in Macedonia and in the country quite properly react to such manifestations, Danev said in conclusion.

[Passage omitted: Marica Georgijevska says that the Kosovo problem is being resolved too slowly; Apostol Arbelski says that in Debar the Albanians, Macedonians, and Turks live in harmony; Djordji Demirevski says that Skopje University student's meeting yesterday was directed against Albanian nationalism and separatism; Vanco Mladenov says that the Kosovo problem is not being resolved because the federation is weak]

The sharp conflict between the protagonists of policentric statism, the bureaucracy constituted on this basis, and the manipulation of the interests of the working class are the basic characteristics of the current political situation, said Vasil Kostojcinovski. On one hand, we have the aggressive drive by waxing monolithic forces of polycentric statism and national bureaucracy, and on the other hand inertia and disunity within the top Yugoslav political leadership.

This conflict is today the most powerful factor of destabilization in the country and a key factor in blocking the reforms of the economic and political system. It blocks the LC and is responsible for the fact that the leaderships are simply not functioning, and that their role boils down to sending out appeals and recommendations or to

accepting compromise solutions, as was the case recently with the joint session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the LC of Kosovo Provincial Committee Presidium which has given rise to a great deal of indignation and dissatisfaction among the working peoples and citizens. The objective of such a session is incomprehensive, Kostojcinovski stressed, as is the knowledge—as was demonstrated during this session—that the essential differences in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism are still present. In short, it is incomprehensible that the session should end with the conclusion that it will be resumed after the 17th LC Central Committee session and do so in conditions when Albanian nationalism and separatism are emerging as one of the most serious factors of destablization. What is happening today, Kostojcinovski warned, is seriously destabilizing the 17th LCY Central committee session as well. [passage omitted: Metodija Petrovski on the role of the socialist alliance in combating Albanian nationalism and separatism; Miroslav Georgijevski on the malaise of nationalism in the country in general; Todor Cuskarovski says the recent events in Kumanovo were an indication of the resistance of Albanian nationalists to the conclusions to the 9th and 16th LCY Central Committee sessions; Zirap Limani provides additional information about the recent student demonstrations in Gostivar]

Winding up the discussion in which 37 members of the LC of Macedonia Central Committee took part, Jakov Lazaroski, president of the LC of Macedonia Central Committee Presidium, pointed out several priority tasks in the implementatiuon of the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee sessions and the Yugoslav program on Kosovo. Action has to be conducted in the LC basic organizations, in organizations of associated labor, and in local communities where a general political mobilization has to be carried out. Without that we can expect neither successes nor practical results, stressed Lazaroski adding that action cannot be conducted in forums alone.

An efficient struggle against the escalation of Albanian nationalism and separatism, stressed Lazroski, cannot take place without strengthening the function of the legal state and the efficient work of the organs of administration at all levels, especially in the organs of administration and of the judiciary. Speaking of the problem of indoctrination of young people on a nationalistic and separatist basic, Lazaroski entered a plea for a vigorous battle against this manifestation. According to him, this battle must be conducted in an organized way and without compromise. This applies particularly to Skopje and to the municipalities in the western part of Macedonia—Tetovo, Gostivar, Debar, Kicevo, Struga, as well as Kumanovo where the indoctrination of young Albanian nationals is most pronounced.

Jakov Lazaroski drew attention to the great danger of the growth in all forms of nationalism in the country which could be fatal to the unity of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia by sowing national hatred, national exclusivity, national division, national intolerance, and mistrust. Therefore, we must not allow the current economic and political problems to become the reason for the attacks on the long-term joint interest of Yugoslav nations and nationalities, on the unity of the Yugoslav working class, and for attacking

Macedonia CC Member Criticizes LCY

LD1410175288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1701 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Skopje, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—What happened yesterday/at the LCY Central Committee Presidium session, especially the discussion exchanges between Slobodan Milosevic and Stipe Suvar, are a shock to our public and to the whole of the LC. I do not know where this is leading and where it will take us, Kata Brajkovska said during the discussion at the Macedonia LC Central Committee session.

The entire Presidium, she said, as a collective body is not equal to the requirements and problems imposed by the current situation. the LC, socialist self-management, and socialist democracy.

Ramizi Resigns at Session

LD1410205688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1948 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Skopje, 14 oct (TANJUG)—In a letter addressed to the Central Committee, Veselj Ramizi, member of the Macedonian LC Central Committee from Kumanovo, tendered his irrevocable resignation. He explained this by saying that in the wake of the demonstrations in Kumanovo he was sharply criticized during a session of the LC municipal committee due to his opportunistic stand.

It was decided at the session that the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium should examine the resignation on the basis of the report to be obtained from the municipal committee of the LC of Kumanovo.

Debate Closes

LD1510012588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2302 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Skopje, Oct 14 (TANJUG)—The battle to normalize the situation in Kosovo is in fact a battle for Yugoslavia—this was a common note struck in most speeches in the debate at the just ended session of the League of Communists of Macedonia Central Committee in Skopje.

Thirty-seven speakers at the session of the top party organ in the southern Yugoslav republic pointed to the grave danger of the rise of all nationalisms in the country which could be fatal for the unity of its nations and nationalities.

The situation in Yugoslavia will be daily worsening unless we decided on a speedy and effective action, member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Lazar Mojsov warned.

Mojsov, who is Macedonia's representative in the top Yugoslav state leadership, said that solutions must finally be found for the longstanding crisis in Kosovo Province—which, due to the migration of Serbs and Montenegrins under pressure, is facing the threat of becoming a territory inhabited exclusively by ethnic Albanians—as well as for the constitutional position of the largest republic, Serbia, and economic revival throughgout the country.

Member of the Yugoslav party leadership Dusan Ckrebic insisted that, despite some assessments made in other parts of Yugoslavia, counter-revolution had been going on in Kosovo for the past eight years.

Ckrebic, a member of the top party leadership from Serbia, said that the League of Communists had never given precedence to repressive measures in dealing with the Kosovo drama, but had, instead, urged the broadest political action. He particularly pointed out the need for a civilized, economically logical demographic policy of the Albanian population, which has the highest birth rate in Europe.

Closing the debate, President of the League of Communists of Macedonia Central Committee Presidency Jakov Lazaroski said that the causes and effects of nationalisms in Yugoslavia must be suppressed by the values of the socialist self-management democratic system, the policy of national equality and the strengthening of the federative nature of the Yugoslav community.

At the session, Veselj Ramizi tendered his irrevocable resignation to the post of member of the League of Communists of Macedonia Central Committee, since he had been severely criticized for his stand on the recent demonstrations of Albanian secondary school students in the Macedonian town of Kumanovo.

Official Speaks Out on Persecution of Macedonians
AU1610184088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Oct 88 p 5

[Momcilo Djorgovic report on interview with Aleksandar Andonovski, Macedonian secretary for internal affairs: "We Tolerate Protests—Prevent Destruction"—place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Djorgovic] You have mentioned that you feel assimilation pressures from neighboring countries, particularly Bulgaria and Greece.

[Andonovski] A denationalization policy toward Macedonian national minorities is being carried out in Greece and Bulgaria. According to the 1985 census there were 200,000 Macedonians in Bulgaria, and it is being claimed now that there are none. There should be about 400,000 Macedonians in Greece, but they do not dare declare themselves as Macedonians there. In fact, an unprecedented genocide against our people was carried out in Greece for the first time in 1948, during the civil war, and then through emigration under coercion to Australia and Canada. Much earlier, the Greek authorities used to exchange Macedonians as Turks for the Greeks living in Turkey, and the Aegean Macedonia is full of Greeks from Asia Minor. According to our estimates, there are about 50,000 Macedonians living in Albania. At one time Korce used to be a Macedonian town. A process of the assimilation of Macedonians is also taking place in Albania. Only people living in border villages are allowed to declare their nationality and to attend primary school for 4 years, but education is based on their programs.

[Djorgovic] We have information that Macedonians are grossly mistreated on border crossings with Greece and Bulgaria.

[Andonovski] This is happening every day. I do not know why a country that behaves like Greece wants to be in the EC. We too can mistreat their citizens, we can ask them for identity cards, marriage certificates, or hold their goods at the border for several hours or even days, which is what they have been doing regularly. But we do not want to do what they are doing. The Bulgarians too, are widely harassing Macedonian citizens, they are giving them excessive fines for minor traffic offenses, and they are detaining them and trying to gather information that would be of interest to their services. We, for instance, allow Albanians to transit our country, but they regularly, despite our knowledge of it, have Sigurimi [State Security] officers posing as codrivers in refrigerated tracks. On their journey, they freely stop at road restaurants and distribute propaganda material. Why is our country keeping silent about everything that is happening on Macedonian borders?

Kosovo Provincial Committee Holds Session 14 Oct
LD1510080788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0958 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Report on proceedings at the 14 October Kosovo LC Provincial Committee session in Pristina]

[Excerpts] Pristina, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—The current situation in Kosovo is characterized by general tension and uncertainty, and it is difficult to predict the direction of developments, the latest of which are manifested in their most exacerbated form here in the province. Even the most trivial excess can lead to a wave of dissatisfaction.

This is what Kacusa Jasari, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, said at the beginning of her introductory report at today's session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, which met to discuss its tasks in preparation for the 17th LCY Central Committee session.

The agenda of the session also includes a number of cadre changes. It is being attended by members of the top party organs of the LCY and the Serbian LC, presidents of the Kosovo LC municipal committees; Zoran Andjelkovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium; and Dobrosav Bjeletic, secretary in the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium.

At the 16th LCY Central Committee session we were told, Kacusa Jasari continued, that we had failed to fulfill our goals and tasks concerning some of the most vital issues set before us by the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress and by the conclusions of the 9th LCY Central Committee session. Of course, all that we have been doing and accomplished in carrying out the tasks set in these documents cannot be denied. In establishing the degree of our responsibility, we must bear in mind that the crisis in Kosovo puts an increasing strain on the situation in the country as a whole. At the same time, it is obvious that the crisis in the country is having an adverse effect on our efforts to mobilize progressive forces in the province for specific actions.

The basic requirement for more efficient action on our part and for speeding up efforts in overcoming the exisisting crisis is to eliminate differences in the views of and the approach to the action. This should be achieved, Kacusa Jasari said, by a realistic approach to concrete facts of life, without any prejudices or burdens. A realistic analysis of the genuine causes and circumstances that serve to foment the crisis must be used as a point of departure. There are sections of the public that have begun to see the existing differences as a manifestation of two differing policies. Public opinion formed on this basis has national divisions as its roots. It is therefore necessary to harmonize the assessments and approaches to the vital issues in order to resolve the situation in Kosovo. Priority must be given to eliminating the causes of and the circumstances which instigate the process of emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, and to searching for ways to halt this emigration. This also includes the issue of providing efficient protection for people, and eliminating causes of various excesses and conflicts on nationalist bases. It is of exceptional importance that the organs of both the LCY and the Serbian LC are directly involved in this.

In Kosovo, any conflict, and particularly those of an intranational nature, tend for many reasons to assume a political dimension, Jasari said. The position of Serbs and Montenegrins has been made even more difficult for numerous reasons, primarily the continued activity of Albanian nationalists. Serious divisions and mistrust have been created on a national basis. The fight against Albanian nationalism is therefore our priority task, Kacusa Jasari stressed.

Seven years after the counterrevolution we have not succeeded in crushing counterrevolutionary activities, and in recent times we have been witnessing a further exacerbation in intranational relations and the continued emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, while nationalisms are being provided with fertile ground to burgeon as never before, Kacusa Jasari warned. She noted that illegal activity by Albanian nationalists and separatists continues to be manifested in the printing and dissemination of pamphlets whose contents indicate the determination of nationalist ideology to achieve an "ethnically pure Kosovo." In addition to former convicts, new people are joining in organized underground activity. In addition to their notorious methods of pressure, they are increasingly advocating other excesses and threats against personal and material security. This is justifiably causing fear and a feeling of insecurity among members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities.

Having noted numerous forms of activity by Albanian nationalists and to their effects, Kacusa Jasari asked: Is it not obvious how each individual case of nationalist activity—especially if directed against Serbs and Montenegrins—directly encourages an anti-Albanian mood and even the hatred of Albanians? These various nationalist excesses and hostile nationalist acts in Kosovo are being used by various extremists and revanchist circles in the country and in the SR of Serbia, in particular, to call for radical steps to be taken concerning Kosovo and Albanians. These calls are not in line with the LCY or with the Constitution.

We have arrived at a stage in which the expression of Albanian nationalism and the continuing serious situation in Kosovo as a result of nationalist activity are becoming a direct threat and a danger to security and to the future of life in equality of the Albanians themselves in Yugoslavia. Hence literally every progressive individual, especially those in the ranks of the Albanian nationality, should stand up, open his eyes, and be assisted in seeing this fact, and he should be mobilized to take action since they are the initial protection for the Serbs, Montenegrins, and others from every attack by Albanian nationalists. However, there should also be a campaign against nationalism in pursuit of its own interests, that is, the socialist Yugoslavia of Tito. Some instances of hooligan-style attacks and other malicious actions against members of other nations and nationalities, regardless of whether political, that is, nationalist, motives are directly at issue, should be pursued more severely because objectively they are creating consequences for intranational relations and the burdening of the political situation. [passage omitted]

We also adhere to the assessment that the struggle against Serbian nationalism is above all the task of Serbian Communists. It should be said that today there is an insufficient struggle against this nationalism, and in our conditions this has an impact on weakening our position against Albanian nationalism. This is because we are reproached for having, in practice, different standards vis-a-vis nationalisms. Of course, the struggle against Serbian nationalism, which will be stimulated and led by the Serbian LC and its leadership, will be the

most effective one, the president of the provincial committee believes, stressing the orientation that all problems in every environment be discussed and solutions sought in the framework of the institutions of the system.

We cannot ignore the fact that at some protest gatherings and meetings in Kosovo there were also nationalist overtones as well as arrogant provocations and insults. This is something which in the most direct way has had an impact on the deterioration in intranational relations, regardless of the fact that on the whole these meetings were assessed positively. Our intention is not to devalue the seriousness of the real demands and reactions, but we cannot ignore the negative aspects either.

Speaking about the differences of opinion on Kosovo and the state of intranational relations in the province and nationalism which are in evidence on the public scene, Jasari said that these differences can no longer be considered to be the holding of a tolerant dialogue but rather as opposing viewpoints on the same matter and problems, which as a consequence has the classification of people of different viewpoints. We cannot ignore the existence of distrust among some Albanians in Kosovo toward the SR of Serbia and its leadership, as well as of some Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo toward a section of the Kosovo leadership. We shall need an incredibly large amount of time to overcome this situation. It has been clear to us for a long time now, and others must also realize this, that the problems cannot be overcome without the broad common front of Albanians, Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks, and others, and without their comprehending this togetherness merely as a formal obligation imposed by the institutions of the authorities.

Stressing that she shares the view of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on the character of the meetings of Serbs and Montenegrins, she spoke in favor of a clear assessment of their real effects and consequences.

There should be a response to justified demands, and we must take stands on the specific criticisms by name and we should not ignore them. However, at the same time we must clearly call to account all those whose speeches were destructive. Nor should we remain silent about the fact that these meetings nevertheless do not contribute to improving intranational relations in Kosovo but rather increasingly have an impact on cooling them and intensifying intranational divisions.

Turning to the question of the responsibility of the LC Provincial Committee and of its Presidium, she said that these forums have done more work than previously and that they have also greatly changed in work methods. She also noted that they have initiated and cleared up in a principled way some important political questions that for a long time have been the subject of dispute, have impeded action, and have maintained differences, ideological confusion, and (?problems left over from the past). There are, however, also weaknesses in the operation of the Presidium and the provincial committee. We have not persisted sufficiently with the more rapid resolution of some central questions we have considered and for which we have set tasks. For example, there is the issue of the more rapid changing of the structure of economic development. We do not have complete insight into how much the situation is really changing and how actions are being carried out in the field of education and upbringing, in keeping with our stands and conclusions and the stands of our organs. [passage omitted]

Members of the provincial committee, apart from attending sessions and taking part in discussion, are not sufficiently involved in day-to-day political action at least in the areas where they live. They are in sufficient communication with the public, although here we are held back by the restricted range of the information media in the province, while other information media have a selective attitude toward us.

We have assessed that it is necessary to carry out certain changes and additions to the composition of the provincial committee and the presidium.

We concluded that, after the definitive approval of the immediate tasks at the 17th LCY Central Committee session on cadre renewal and responsibility, we will continue talks and carry out the assessments to the end. We believe that there is still scope for removing weaknesses and improving the situation in the work of the presidium with the composition. However, if it turns out that someone cannot cope, he must drop out.

Because of the current situation and slowness in implementing LCY policy on some important issues, the draft of the immediate tasks for the 17th LCY Central Committee session warned the provincial committee and its presidium in conformity with Article 53 of the LCY Statute. We took this seriously and responsibly. After the 17th session we will devote the necessary attention to this. By the very fact that we are the leadership of the Kosovo LC, it is natural that we bear the greatest responsibility for the situation here. This responsibility is objective but also specific. There should be a well-reasoned communist-style debate on this.

No one can nor will be called to account as a result of the campaign in the press or at meetings if there are not well-argued reasons for this, nor will they be called to account as a result of the falsely interpreted and distorted statements in the public information media, but only on the basis of their authenticity. Likewise we expect that at the 17th session the LCY Central Committee will measure, specifically and objectively, the share of the responsibility falling on the leadership of the Serbian LC and the LCY. We will have to say clearly what we as the party leadership should bear responsibility for, and what responsibility falls on other subjects.

Hitherto we have laid much of this at the door of the party leadership, while others have been sheltered and no one calls them to account.

Kacusa Jasari assessed that in the Kosovo LC after 1986 the leadership was almost completely rejuvenated and was unburdened by the mortgages of the past and prepared to involve itself unreservedely in the line of the LCY, and that new members were also elected in the municipal LC organizations.

At protest meetings and gatherings the list of those leaders from Kosovo who have been criticized by name and called to account is increasingly long. Quite a large number of cadres, especially among Albanians, but also including Serbs and Montenegrins, bears a sense of guilt which is not proven by anything except by the very fact of their holding office. Often the impression is created through the public media that there are no turnabouts toward a better future, that the Kosovo leadership is not prepared for this, and that it should immediately be called to account or pressure applied on it to be replaced. In the process, it is forgotten that it was precisely over the last few years that more was done than in the years prior to this. Jasari believes and stresses that hitherto no one has yet been held responsible because of the insinuations and unreasoned allegations, nor has anyone at the meetings dissociated themselves even from those who are calling for the murder of proven fighters against Albanian nationalism. Under the mask of democracy, she added, we are committing attacks on fundamental social values, categorizing such destruction-mongers in the group of those making "individual unacceptable statements".

We agree with the assessment of the LCY Central Committee Presidium that the ideopolitical essence of the draft amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republics of Serbia are in keeping with the orientations and standpoints of the 13th LCY Congress on relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and that specific solutions should be the result of a public debate and joint work in the framework of the institutions of the system, and that these should be arrived at in a way and by the procedure which is laid down for changing the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. [passage omitted]

The first participant in the debate, Remzi Bunjaku, drew attention to the fact that people are particularly concerned about intranational confrontations, the attacks on Tito, and the achievements of the revolution, as well as about the predominance of national over class matters. The time has come, he believes, that the public obtain a true picture of the situation in Kosovo.

As regards responsibility, Bunjaku said that throughout the LC the same criteria must exist and unreasoned criticisms should be replaced by common sense. The implementation of the three reforms, according to him, represents the basis for the stabilization of circumstances in the country as a whole as well as in Kosovo.

Milan Gvozdic assessed that a clear answer must be given at this session to the question of whether the leadership of the province can ensure that the counterrevolution in Kosovo is halted. The provincial committee and its presidium, he said, achieved a high degree of mobility and ideopolitical unity afer the ninth LCY Central Committee session but this is still far from what could and must be done.

How is it possible that in the 7 years since the outbreak of the counterrevolution in Kosovo, Gvozdic wondered, Albanian nationalists continue to operate. Why have we not succeeded in launching the enormous ideological force of 110,000 Kosovo Communists? Gvozdic noted that a good deal of time has been lost in assessing the character of the gatherings in Kosovo, and little is done to remove their causes. No one has the right, he stressed, to condemn a people because it seeks the cessation of lawlessness, violence, and persecution.

Referring to the fact that no nationalism should be underestimated, Gvozdic said at the end that the Provincial Committee and its Presidium bears the biggest responsibility for the situation in Kosovo, which cannot be avoided. [passage omitted]

As regards the demands for responsibility to be attributed to Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi, and Svetislav Dolasevic, Kalenderi said that these demands are causing confusion among the workers because the responsibility is being sought of people who led the action against Albanian nationalism. It is unacceptable to seek individual responsibility for the failure to implement party policy, Kalenderi said, when it is clear that we are all responsible. The Serbian LC leadership, according to him, should examine, in a self-critical way, its contribution to the struggle against Albanian and also Serbian nationalism. [passage omitted]

In the view of Celic, the biggest responsibility is nevertheless, borne by the provincial committee presidium which should hand in its collective resignation. The basic political error of the presidium, he assesses, is contained in the fact that it did not conduct action among the masses, winning over Yugoslav-oriented Albanians, but did everything in forums and at meetings. [passage omitted]

At the start of his speech, Zoran Andjelkovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, stressed that the situation in Kosovo could not be improved without radical cadre renewal at all levels in the province, and particularly at the top. He said that an unprincipled cadre policy is being conducted in Kosovo. This policy is burdened by many weaknesses, starting with the imposing of cadres without the support of their "base" and without any public standing.

Mistakes in cadre policy, Andjelkovic pointed out, have enabled the election of those who have broadened the scope for activity by Albanian nationalists, who have formalized and diluted every concrete action.

Recalling last year's reaction by Azem Vlasi to the demand by the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium for a change of leadership in Pristina, Pec, and Klina, Andjelkovic said that this brought into question the right of the party leadership of the republic to point out weaknesses in certain environments. There were other cases of obstruction of the stances of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, he said, adding that great political consequences had arisen because of all this.

According to him, significant cadre changes were carried out in Kosovo in 1986 but the necessary renewal was not implemented. Rather a certain "moving around" was carried out, which protected people from public judgment and well-considered criticism. In such a situation, the Serbian LC Central Committee was prevented from taking part in cadre policy, which meant that its right to be responsible for constructing a united Serbian LC was denied.

Andjelkovic stressed that the top party leadership of the province is responsible for the current situation in Kosovo, and it should critically and self-critically look at its own activity and establish collective and individual responsibility. This must be done by name, in a principled and argued way. This orientation will be adhered to in the Serbian LC, and from it stems the demand of the Serbian LC Central Committee that Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi, and Svetislav Dolasevic be expelled from the LCY Central Committee at its 17th session. [passage omitted]

In a long speech Azem Vlasi first of all pointed to the need for achieving unity in the LCY as an essential condition for the success of the forthcoming 17th LCY Central Committee session, and noted that certain parts of the LCY take from the adopted conclusions only whatever suits them. He added that demands have been strengthened for the accountability of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and its leadership, and of the municipal functionaries to be established, but he believes that a deeper analysis of the worsening of the political situation in Kosovo that has arisen in the past year is lacking. He said that the conclusion by the Serbian LC Central Committee on the need for establishing his ideo-political responsibility, and the responsibility of Kolj Siroka and Svetislav Dolasevic, represents a courtroom verdict.

Vlasi pointed out that it is damaging to cite only one's own nation, without taking into account the opinions and members of other nations and nationalities. He also warned of the increasingly frequent attacks on the work and character of Comrade Tito, particularly by members of the so-called committee for the critical revision of Tito's work at the Serbian Academy of Science and Art. He noted that people in Kosovo are attacking Tito for the 1974 Constitution. In his opinion the phenomenon has grown more frequent of manipulating the statements of some politicians, and frequently reversing them, as was the case he said with some of his own statements.

However, he added, there was no reaction to hundreds of other statements by political workers. There should have been Vlasi said, because these turned people in Kosovo away from political action and differentiation. He expressed his disagreement with the whole of the speech by Zoran Andjelkovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium. According to Vlasi, some people imagine that what happened in Vojvodina and Montenegro is happening in Pristina. [passage omitted]

As the session progressed there were differing opinions, differing views, and impatience, and chairman Kacusa Jasari intervened. The causes of this were usually demands from the Serbian LC Central Committee that the accountability of Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi, and Svletislav Dolasevic be established.

Sadik Sadiku said that certain speeches and name-calling originate from the same place, and that they increasingly resemble ultimatums to disband the provincial committee. If the comrades in the Serbian LC Central Committee discussed things in the same way as they are discussed at the meetings, then there is no need for them to invite us to the sessions, said Sadiku, who in fact is a member of the Serbian LC Central Committee.

Bahtije Abrasi also said that if Siroka, Vlasi, and Dolasevic must tender their resignations they should do it in front of this committee and not "in front of those in the street."

Zoran Andjelkovic rejected what he called the insinuations against the Serbian LC Central Committee. Citing some data on cases of attacks on members of Serb and Montenegrin nationalities and the situation in the villages with Serb and Montenegrin populations, he gave added weight to the demands for those responsible for the situation in Kosovo to be called to account. [passage omitted]

Andjelkovic then read in full the stands of the Serbian LC Central Committee concerning the demands for Siroka, Vlasi, and Dolasevic to be called to account. Azem Vlasi wanted to reply, but the floor was given to Kacusa Jasari who asked for more sensible behavior in order not to split the people. We are all together behaving in an irresponsible way, both here in Kosovo and elsewhere. We are putting ourselves at two extremes—we in Kosovo are placing ourselves at the head of all Albanians, and the Serbian Central Committee is putting itself at the head of all the Serbs, she said.

Jasari went on to say that the way in which pressure is being applied on the Kosovo leadership is irresponsible. This leadership is responsible and will bear its responsibility, but not under pressure. The public must make an

asessment of that, but not on the basis of some tendencies, she said. She rejected as improper the statements by Sadik Sadiku and Zoran Andjelkovic and asked for confrontations to cease.

In connection with the question of Siroka, Vlasi, and Dolasevic's responsibility, she said that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee will adopt the stance that has already been prepared and asked for this matter not to be discussed any longer. [passage omitted]

Jordan Kostic said that if the LCY Central Committee Presidium had reacted in time it could have prevented much earlier the "cold war" persisting along the Novi Sad-Belgrade-Pristina line in connection the with changes to the republican constitution. Unless concrete responsibility is established we shall not improve the situation in Kosovo, he said, adding that this applies particularly to the Provincial Committee and its Presidium. The recent session of the top executive—the political organs of the LCY and of the Kosovo LC held in Pristina, in his view, was disappointing and had even irritated the public. [passage omitted]

Taking part in the discussion, Dobrosav Bjeletic, executive secretary of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, began by reacting polemically to part of Enver Djerdjeku's speech, stressing that no one in the Serbian leadership or in the LC of Serbia had ever denied nationality rights. Who is frightening the nationalities, he asked, and he rejected as malicious and deliberate the thesis set out in the introductory report which said that the Albanian nationality's suspicion of the Serbian leadership is growing.

Remarking that this is happening because of the general coalition pressure on the Serbian leadership, Bjeletic said that suspicion is growing only among the protagonists of the counterrevolution and Serbian nationalists. He pointed out that new speculation is being spread in Yugoslavia about the Serbian party leadership not being militant enough against anti-Titoism. This, he remarked, has even reached the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. We have to combat attacks on Tito. Not all the means have been exhausted here, but it should be recognized that the biggest way to attack Tito is to attack the revolution. This is why, he believes, the biggest attack on Tito is where the counterrevolution is taking place.

Alluding to the polemical statement by Kacusa Jasari that the Serbian LC Central Committee "had placed itself at the head of the Serbian nation," he said that one should be very careful with assessments like that. One thing is sure—no one will be able to contradict, not even "from the street," the forums that have had success. However, many forums are unsuccessful, Bjeletic pointed out, and their position is not all that strong, convincing, and acceptable. [passage omitted]

Miroslav Vucak suggested that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium should submit its collective resignation and that the provincial committee should subsequently establish the individual responsibility of every member of that forum. He believes that the question of accountability of the members of the Serbian LC Central Committee and of the LCY Central Committee from the Kosovo LC should also be brought up. Vucak also expressed his dissatisfaction with the joint session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. [passage omitted]

Sinan Bitici stressed that the SR of Serbia is to a great extent responsible for the situation in Kosovo because it employs the people who keep leaving the province. Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi, and Svetislav Dolasevic, he believes, should be defended and not attacked. [passage omitted]

Milosevic also endorsed the proposal made by the Serbian LC Central Committee to establish the responsibility of Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi, and Svetislav Dolasevic, and remarked that responsibility should be borne also by some members of the LCY Central Committee and of the Serbian LC Central Committee from Kosovo. Remzi Hodnza, on the other hand, praised the political involvement of Vlasi, Siroka, and Dolasevic. [passage omitted]

Ocemalj Hasani suggested that the resignation of Miodrag Moracic should not be accepted, because he is a good communist.

After 15 hours of virtually uninterrupted discussion, in which 52 members of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committe took part, draft documents on immediate tasks of the Communists to overcome the current unfavorable economic, political, and social situation in the country due to be adopted at the forthcoming 17th session of the LCY Central Committee were endorsed.

In connection with the responsibility of the LC Provincial Committee and its Presidium, the view taken was that this must be discussed in a principled, cogently argued, and concrete way immediately after the 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum. Provincial committee members wanted an explanation of why it was proposed that at the next session of the LCY Central Committee the statute warning measure be passed on the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee believes that ideo-political tasks of the Communists to preserve Tito's name and his historic achievement should be incorporated into the draft documents for the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee.

The assessment was made that, in order to stabilize the overall situation in Kosovo, which is still predominantly weighed down by the activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists, one of the key conditions is to balance the political assessments about the situation in this province.

In addition to these stands of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, the LCY Central Committee will also be forwarded a summary of the discussion at the session today.

The session today, Kacusa Jasari stressed in her closing speech, which was critical, polemical, and trenchant, is a reflection of the situation in the province. The general climate in our society and its reflection on the province calls for a completely responsible attitude and general mobility not only of the LC provincial committee and its Presidium, but of its entire membership.

This is why, she said, the warning to the LC provincial committee and to its Presidium must be understood mainly as a demand for us to review its politial activity and strengthen its front, as a demand for cadre renewal which at the same time means a break with the conduct which is unsuitable for the present situation. Such behavior does not take place only in our Presidium and in the LC provincial committee, but also in other provincial organs and organizations, in municipalities, in the economy, and in noneconomy activities. Responsibility is indivisible and we must establish it, both collectively and separately. [passage omitted]

We must not allow, Kacusa Jasari said, that because of the lack of action on our part, dissatisfaction should be manipulated by someone else. This is precisely what Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists are doing today. [passage omitted]

The provincial committee voted against the demands heard during the session that the Presidium should submit its collective resignation. Only five provincial committee members voted for the resignation. Kacusa Jasari said in this context that in the Presidium itself there had been views recently about a possible resignation but that the view predominated that in the present moment this would have amounted to accepting one's own powerlessness. Things must not be done in a hurry and the precise responsibility of the members of the Presidium and of the provincial committee must be established, and this will be discussed during the next session, Jasari said. She then informed the provincial committee that Kolj Siroka had expressed his readiness to withdraw as member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. We believe that Comrade Siroka may withdraw from the Presidium, but that he must remain a Central Committee member. Ali Sukrija, Sinan Hasani, and Rahman Morina have intimited their readiness to withdraw from the membership of the LCY Central Committee.

The discussion on the irrevocable resignation by Miodrag Moracic has been put off until the next session, while Tahir Kuci and Nek Binakaj were relieved of their membership of the Provincial Committee because of their involvement in the manipulations with the Yugoslav banner at the notorious Decani wedding ceremony.

Ragip Haljilji and Veselj Sulja's resignations as members of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee were accepted. Haljilji resigned at the request of the Pristina LC Municipal Committee, of which he was president until recently, because of his responsibility for the situation and for the mistakes that provoked political consequences in the Pristina party organization. Veselj Sulja withdrew for health reasons. [passage omitted]

Husamedin Azemi, president of the Pristina LC Municipal Committee Presidium, and Hasim Redzepi were elected new members of the Presidium of the provincial committee by a secret vote.

Kosovo Polje Communists Send Message to LCY

LD1610170188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1541 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Pristina, 16 Oct (TANJUG)—The Communists of the 16th and 17th local communities of Kosovo Polje today sent a message to the LCY Central Committee Presidium and requested it be read at the 17th LCY Central Committee session. The Communists of Kosovo Polje, the message states, point out that, instead of expressing optimistic tones and hopes that the counterrevolution by Albanian nationalists and separatists will soon be broken, the Serbian and Montenegrin people see themselves as falling into an increasingly hopeless situation. Regarding the joint session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, it states that like the provincial committee session this encouraged separatists and caused confusion among the Serbian and Montenegrin people, which could have unforseeable consequences.

The message stresses that the session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee will be entered in the annals of the LCY as the greatest opportunist event which does not have the support of a single progressive person in our self- managing socialist community. Instead of uncovering the actions of Albanian nationalists and chauvinists in order to break up the counterrevolution, an opposite line was taken. Following Tito's path for progress and making superhuman efforts to overcome the Kosovo situation, the Communists of Kosovo Polje stress in their message to the LCY Central Committee Presidium that they have never identified Ballists, Albanian nationalists, and chauvinists with the Albanian people as a whole.

The calling to account of those responsible for counterrevolution and the slow resolution of problems was not carried out on the streets, as some individuals wish to present it, but rather by Communists and other progressive forces. Azem Vlasi, as the most responsible person for the situation in Kosovo, seems to be prepared to provoke a confrontation with the people simply to preserve his position. The Communists of Kosovo Polje in their message warn that the statement by Stipe Suvar that the Serbian LC Central Committee is not waging a struggle against those who attack the name and work of

Comrade Tito has irritated Communists and citizens, and that it is an insinuation that constitutes a deliberate act against the leadership of the SR of Serbia.

At the 17th LCY Central Committee session, which must be public, the Kosovo Polje Communists call for accountability for all those who have not implemented the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee session and a settling of accounts with all opportunists and all those who have shown that they cannot and do not wish to change the situation more rapidly for the better. The latest instances of incomprehensible behavior by those who are responsible in the LCY Central Committee and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee are leading to the collective emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from their centuries-old homes, the message to the LCY Central Committee Presidium says in conclusion.

Further on Cable to Plenum

LD1710104488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1001 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Pristina, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—Just before the start of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, a "meeting of representatives of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities from Kosovo and Metohija" was held at the Kosovo Polje House of Culture. Several demands were sent to the Central Committee. About 400 people from all parts of Kosovo attended the meeting. They called on the Central Committee, at its 17th session, to carry out radical changes in its ranks and in the LCY Central Committee Presidium; to replace the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee; and to remove Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi, and Svetislav Dolasevic from the LCY Central Committee. They say that these three people bear the greatest responsibility for the fact that the Kosovo drama continues.

200,000 at Meeting Back Serbs, Montenegrins

LD1510140988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1326 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Leskovac, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—Today at a brotherhood, unity, and solidarity meeting with disenfranchised Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo, over 200,000 people from Leskovac and the surrounding area gathered in Leskovac, as well as over 5,000 citizens of Kosovo. The president of the municipal conference of the Leskovac SAWP and the president of the Vlasotinic Municipal Assembly were among those who addressed the meeting.

Albania Protests to SFRY Over Kosovo Rally Banner

LD1410182288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1733 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 14 (TANJUG)—The Albanian Foreign Ministry has lodged a protest with the Yugoslav Embassy in Tirana over a slogan displayed at a rally of solidarity with Serbs and Montenegrins in Yugoslavia's Kosovo Province, it has been learned.

The banner put up at the October 8 rally in Kragujevac, a town in central Serbia, read: "Onward Slobodan, to Tirana if necessary."

The protest note said this was a provocation against Albania.

Termed 'Timely Interference'

LD1410191888 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1807 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 14 (TANJUG)—Tirana on October 13 officially protested over a banner displayed at a people's rally on October 8 in Kragujevac, in the Republic of Serbia. If one assumes that the Albanian authorities did not need five days to re-read and understand the slogans from Kragujevac, their late reaction is perhaps only a timely interference ahead of the 17th plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, scheduled for October 17.

That there is method in every "chance" was carelessly given away by the Tirana daily ZERI I POPULLIT, which, in spite of the observation that events in Yugoslavia are its internal affair, invests itself with the right of assessing these events as though they are really an "internal affair" though not of Yugoslavia but of Albania.

How can one otherwise explain the pretension of the Tirana newspaper to join in the Yugoslav internal debate concerning Yugoslavia and nobody else through attacks on a republican leadership (of the Republic of Serbia) and, what impudence, to act as one of its chief protagonists.

Tirana's assurances that it is doing it all for the sake of "peace in the Balkans and in Europe" sounds, therefore, as unparalleled cynicism, for history knows of no case of "cooperation and friendship" being furthered by the "internationalisation of tension" and interference in others' affairs. ZERI I POPULLIT says it is protesting for two reasons: "over the discrimination against and persecution of Albanians in Yugoslavia and because of threats to Albania." If the daily believes in what it writes, why does it not try to find out how many of the "discriminated against and persecuted Albanians" in Yugoslavia would go to live in "Free Albania" of their own free will.

As far as threats are concerned, even such an imaginative newspaper cannot find any proof of its fabrication in Yugoslavia's policy. But this is not the intention of the Tirana newspaper because it welcomes not only trifle [as received] occasions but fabrications too in its clumsy attempts to "internationalise" the events in Yugoslavia.

Italian Envoy Summoned Over Fishing Incident

LD1410172188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1628 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 14 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government today informed the Italian ambassador in Belgrade about the seizure of an Italian ship caught poaching in Yugoslav territorial waters and the circumstances in which the ship's captain suffered minor injuries.

Assistant Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Ilija Djukic told Ambassador Massimi Castaldi about 2:30 p.m. yesterday a Yugoslav patrol boat caught the Italian fishing vessel "Eldorado Primo" poaching near the island of Jabuka, four miles inside Yugoslav territorial waters.

In accordance with international regulations, the patrol boat signalled the fishing vessel to stop for identification and inspection. When the ship refused to comply, the boat fired several flares and warning blanks. Despite the warning, the "Eldorado Primo" continued on its course and more shots were fired at its bow and mast. Shattered glass and plating lightly injured the Italian skipper.

The Italian ship was towed to Komiza on the island of Vis, and the injured captain received medical help. No other member of the crew was injured. The usual procedure was stated before a magistrate's court.

Djukic told Ambasador Castaldi he regretted the fact that the Italian captain was injured, but that the practice of violating Yugoslav territorial waters and poaching by Italian fishermen was impermissible.

In the spirit of goodneighbourly cooperation between the two countries, it was stressed that the Italian side should also take energetic and efficacious measures to prevent the recurrence of similar incidents.